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TYNDALE'S ANSWER

TO

SIR THOMAS MORE'S DIALOGUE,

&c. &c.

The Parker Society.

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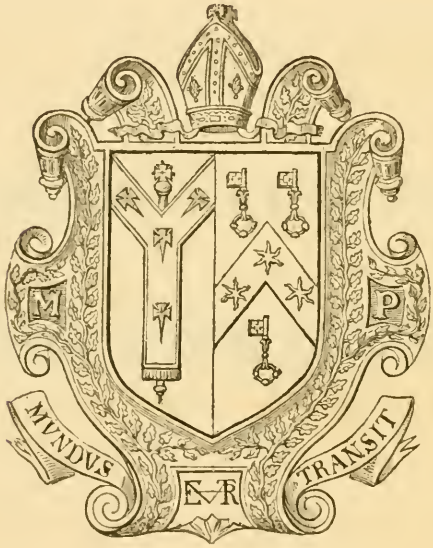

For the Publication of the Works of the Fathers and Early Writers of the Reformed English Church.

AN ANSWER

TO

SIR THOMAS MORE'S DIALOGUE,

THE SUPPER OF THE LORD

AFTER THE TRUE MEANING OF JOHN VI. AND 1 COR. XI.

AND

WM. TRACY'S TESTAMENT EXPOUNDED.

BY

WILLIAM TYNDALE,
MARTYR, 1536.

EDITED FOR
The Parker Society,
BY THE
REV. HENRY WALTER, B.D. F.R.S.
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M.DCCC.L.

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ERRATA.

Vol. I. p. 22, l. 11. The word *pastor* is in old editions *paster*; probably an ancient typographic error for *plaster*.

p. 98, l. 12, *for* 2 Cor. xii. *r.* 1 Cor. xiii.

p. 522, l. 17, *for* iii. *r.* iv.

Vol. II. p. 271, margin, *for* xiv. *r.* iii.

p. 307, note 5, *for* II. *r.* Caus. xi.

p. 335, l. 19, *for* tasle, *r.* stale.

Vol. III. p. 270, l. 8, *for* Lib. I. *r.* Lib. III.

p. 272, l. 9, *for* xiv. *r.* xix.

ANSWER

TO

SIR THOMAS MORE'S DIALOGUE.

[INTRODUCTORY NOTICE.

It was in 1528, that Sir Thomas More, being already regarded as the most accomplished scholar in England, and having before his eyes a near prospect of being invited to fill the chief place in his sovereign's council, was induced to accept bishop Tonstal's permission to read the works of the reformers, that he might be qualified to refute them[1]; nor did he suffer the year to elapse before he had composed, as the first fruits of his consequent researches and zeal, an imaginary dialogue between himself and the confidential messenger of a friend desirous to know his opinions respecting the religious questions which were then forcing themselves into general notice. In the edition of Sir Thomas More's works, printed at London in 1557, and then dedicated to queen Mary, as "To that person to whom specially of all worldly creatures the editor [William Rastell, serjeant at law] trusted the book should be most acceptable," the title of this effort to write down Tyndale and his labours is as follows: "A dialogue of Sir Thomas More, knt. one of the council of our sovereign lord the king, and chancellor of his duchy of Lancaster. Wherein he treated divers matters, as of the veneration and worship of images and reliques, praying to saints, and going on pilgrimages, with many other things touching the pestilent sect of Luther and Tyndale, by the one begun in Saxony, and by the other labored to be brought into England. Made in the year of our Lord, 1528." The dialogue was divided by its author into four books; and occupies in that quarto edition a hundred and eighty-four closely printed pages.

The date in the above title-page tells when More's Dialogue was *composed;* but Mr Anderson's researches have led him to conclude that it was not published till the summer of 1529[2]. Tyndale's title-page in like manner tells us that he *made* his answer in 1530; but though Vaughan's dispatch to Henry VIII. of the date of Jan. 26, 1531, confirms this fact, it was not committed to the press till about the close of the spring of that year[3]. By that time More had been promoted from the chancellorship of the duchy to the elevated post of lord high chancellor of England. But the laborious duties of that judicial and political office did not prevent his undertaking to write a "Confutacyon of Tyndall's Answer;" and on such a scale, that when he had not advanced beyond the first thirty pages of his opponent, he found he had written enough to fill a folio volume of above three hundred and sixty pages; which was printed for him by his brother-in-law, William Rastell[4], in 1532. It is divided into three books; and the most prominent feature in the first book is the con-

[1 Biog. Notice, Vol. I. p. xxxvi.]
[2 And. Annals of Eng. Bible, Vol. I. p. 237, B. I. § 6.]
[3 See Biogr. Notice of Tyndale, pp. xlii—l.]
[4 Probably father to the serjeant.]

tinual recurrence of abusive mention of Luther's marriage with Katharine Boren. As she had been a nun, and Luther a priest, it was to be expected that More would consider their marriage as illegal and sinful; and would consequently think himself entitled to speak of her as of a harlot. But it is strange that he should not have perceived, that there was neither argument nor decency in twitting Tyndale with Luther's marriage, page after page, and in the coarsest terms, as More has here done. See especially, Conf. pp. vi—x.

When out of office, More continued his Confutacyon, till it had reached the length of nine books; the eighth of which is however altogether a digression from Tyndale to Barnes. So wordy a reply to Tyndale's Answer was not likely to have many readers; and we accordingly find that in five and twenty years it had fallen into such neglect that serjeant Rastell could not meet with a complete copy of the ninth book, for his edition of More's works. He had made his printer go on till he had put the last words of a fragment before him into type, viz. *These things hath (I saye)*—and there he was obliged to terminate his reprint with the following note: "There can be no more found of this ninth book written by sir Thomas More." Works, p. 832. It is however to the credit of More's fairness, as a controversialist, that the extracts from Tyndale incorporated into his Confutacyon are so many, and so accurate, as to have been of material use to the present editor in his endeavour to form a correct text; for which purpose he has also collated Day's folio reprint of 1573, with a copy of Tyndale's Answer, now in the Cambridge University Library, and not unlikely to have been the first edition. It is a black letter duodecimo, without date of place, or year. The type is foreign; but is not Hans Luft's. The punctuation is German. It is not paged; but the leaves are numbered in small Roman ordinals: and it is bound up with "A Disputacyon of purgatorye made by Johan Frith," which is in the same type. We have already had occasion to mention that Frith is said, by a contemporary, to have superintended the printing of Tyndale's Answer, at Amsterdam. Vol. I. p. 1.]

[The title-page of the above-mentioned edition in the Cambridge University Library announces and describes Tyndale's Answer as follows:]

☞ An Answere unto sir Thomas More's Dialoge, made by Willyam Tindale.

First he declareth what the church is, and gebeth a reason of certayne wordes which Master More rebuketh in the translation of the Newe Testament.

¶ After that he answereth particularlye unto ebery chaptre which semeth to habe any apperaunce of truth thorow all his iiii bokes.

☞ Awake thou that slepest and stonde up from deeth, and Christ shall gibe the light. Ephesians.

b.

PROPERTY OF PRINCETON THEOLOGICAL

PREFACE TO THE READER.

Awake thou that sleepest, and stand up from death, and Christ shall give thee light. Eph. v.

THE grace of our Lord, the light of his Spirit to see and to judge, true repentance towards God's law, a fast faith in the merciful promises that are in our Saviour Christ, fervent love toward thy neighbour after the ensample of Christ and his saints, be with thee, O reader, and with all that love the truth, and long for the redemption of God's elect[2]. Amen. M. C. i—iii.[1]

Our Saviour Jesus in the sixteenth of John at his last supper, when he took his leave of his disciples, warned them, saying, "The Holy Ghost shall come and rebuke the world of judgment." That is, he shall rebuke the world for lack of true judgment, and discretion to judge; and shall prove that the taste of their mouths is corrupt, so that they judge sweet to be sour, and sour to be sweet; and the[3] eyes to be blind, so that they think that to be the very service of God, which is John xvi. The Holy Ghost shall rebuke the world for lack of true judgment. M. C. iv—vi.

[1 The letters M. C. in the margin will indicate the passages which Sir Thomas More has commented upon in his Confutation.]

[2 More begins his Confutation with a comment on this prayer, in the following terms. "Tyndale here beginneth with an holy salutation, and so doth Luther too, and so doth friar Huskyne [Œcolampadius] too, and so doth every fond fellow of any of their sects. But when men consider that where he prayeth 'God send them a fast faith,' himself teacheth a false faith against the sacraments, and meaneth that they should be fast in the same, there will no good christian man can thank him for that holy prayer. And where he prayeth here so holily for the love of the neighbour, if men look on the love that is used among all the masters of that holy sect, and consider their livings, and look upon friar Luther, the very father of their holy sect, and see him run out of religion" [that is, quit a monastery], "and fallen to flesh and carrion, and live in letchery with a nun under name of wedlock, and all the chief heads of them, late monks and friars, and now apostates and living with harlots under the name of wives; he that looketh on this, and then seeth them and their scholars, as Tyndale here &c."]

[3 So D. but Sir T. More prints it *their* in his Confutation.]

but a blind superstition, for zeal of which yet they persecute the true service of God; and that they judge to be the law of God, which is but a false imagination of a corrupt judgment, for blind affection of which yet they persecute the true law of God, and them that keep it.

1 Cor. ii. And this same it is that Paul saith in the second of the first epistle to the Corinthians, how that the natural man that is not born again, and created anew with the Spirit of God, M. C. vi—viii. be he never so great a philosopher, never so well seen in the law, never so sore studied in the scripture, as we have The spiritual judgeth all things spiritually. ensamples in the Pharisees, yet he cannot understand the things of the Spirit of God. But saith he, "The spiritual judgeth all things, and his spirit searcheth the deep secrets of God;" so that whatsoever God commandeth him to do, he never leaveth searching till he come at the bottom, the pith, the quick, the life, the spirit, the marrow, and very cause M. C. viii—x. Matt. xxii. why, and judgeth all thing. Take an ensample in the great M. C. x—xiv. commandment, "Love God with all thine heart:" the spiritual searcheth the cause, and looketh on the benefits of God, and Rom. xiii. so conceiveth love in heart. And when he is commanded to M. C. xiv-xv. obey the powers and rulers of the world, he looketh on the M. C. xv. benefits which God sheweth the world through them, and Matt. xxii. therefore doth it gladly. And when he is commanded to love The spiritual man searcheth out the cause why he ought to love his neighbours. his neighbour as himself, he searcheth that his neighbour is created of God, and bought with Christ's blood; and so forth: and therefore he loveth him out of his heart; and if he be evil, forbeareth him, and with all love and patience draweth him to good: as elder brethren wait on the younger, and serve them and suffer them; and when they will not come, they speak fair, and flatter, and give some gay thing, M. C. xvi—xviii. and promise fair, and so draw them and smite them not; but, if they may in no wise be holp, refer the punishment to the father and mother; and so forth. And by these judgeth he all other laws of God, and understandeth the true use and meaning of them. And by these understandeth he, in the laws M. C. xix—xxx. of man, which are right and which tyranny.

If God should command him to drink no wine, as he commanded in the old Testament that the priests should not, when they ministered in the temple, and forbade divers meats; Man is lord over all the creatures of the earth. the spiritual (because he knoweth that man is lord over all other creatures, and they his servants, made to be at his

pleasure, and that it is not commanded for the wine or meat itself, that man should be in bondage unto his own servant, the inferior creature) ceaseth not to search the cause: and when he findeth it, that it is to tame the flesh and that he be alway sober, he obeyeth gladly; and yet not so superstitiously, that the time of his disease he would not drink wine in the way of a medicine to recover his health; as David ate of the hallowed bread; and as Moses for necessity left the children of Israel uncircumcised forty years, where of likelihood some died uncircumcised, and were yet thought to be in no worse case than they that were circumcised; as the children that died within the eighth day were counted in as good case as they that were circumcised: which ensamples might teach us many things, if there were spirit in us. And likewise of the holy-day: he knoweth that the day is servant to man; and therefore, when he findeth that it is done because he should not be let from hearing the word of God, he obeyeth gladly; and yet not so superstitiously, that he would not help his neighbour on the holy-day, and let the sermon alone for one day; or that he would not work on the holy-day, need requiring it, at such time as men be not wont to be at church: and so throughout all laws. And even likewise in all ceremonies and sacraments, he searcheth the significations, and will not serve the visible things. It is as good to him, that the priest say mass in his gown as in his other apparel, if they teach him not somewhat, and that his soul be edified thereby. And as soon will he gape while thou puttest sand as holy salt in his mouth, if thou shew him no reason thereof. He had as lief be smeared with unhallowed butter as anointed with charmed oil, if his soul be not taught to understand somewhat thereby; and so forth[1].

1 Sam. xxi.

Circumcision not frequented in forty years.

M. C. xxxi.

Holy-days are ordained for man, and not man for the holy-days. M. C. xxxi—xxxiii.

The signification of things are to be sought, and not to serve the visible signs. M. C. xxxiii—xli.

Ceremonies without some good doctrine are to be rejected.

But the world captivateth his wit[2], and about the law of God maketh him wonderful imaginations, unto which he so fast cleaveth that ten John Baptists were not able to dispute them out of his head. He believeth that he loveth God, because he is ready to kill a Turk for his sake, that believeth better in God than he; whom God also commandeth us

M. C. lxxv—vi.

M. C. lxvii.

[1 In p. xli. of his Confutation, More turns away from this preface to quote and controvert different passages in The Obedience, and so proceeds to p. lxxiv.]

[2 That is, the natural man's.]

Turks are rather to be lamented for their ignorance, and to be won with good doctrine and example of good life, than to be hated and murdered.

to love, and to leave nothing unsought to win him unto the knowledge of the truth, though with the loss of our lives. He supposeth that he loveth his neighbour as much as he is bound, if he be not actually angry with him; whom yet he will not help freely with an half-penny, but for a vantage, or vain glory, or for a worldly purpose. If any man have displeased him, he

M. C. lxxviii.

keepeth his malice in, and will not chafe himself about it, till he see an occasion to avenge it craftily; and thinketh that well enough. And the rulers of the world he obeyeth, thinketh he, when he flattereth them, and blindeth them with gifts, and corrupteth the officers with rewards, and beguileth the law with cautels and subtilties.

We do nothing well, except we do it of love, from a pure heart.

And because the love of God and of his neighbour, which is the spirit and the life of all laws, and wherefore all laws are made, is not written in his heart, therefore in all inferior laws and in all wordly ordinances is he beetle blind. If he be commanded to abstain from wine, that will

Superstitious observations are rather the breaking of the law than the keeping of the same.

M. C. lxxix.

he observe unto the death too; as the Charterhouse monks had lever die than eat flesh. And as for the soberness and chastising of the members, will he not look for; but will pour in ale and beer of the strongest, without measure, and heat them with spices, and so forth. And the holy-day will

M. C. lxxix. lxxx.

he keep so strait, that if he meet a flea in his bed, he dare not kill her; and not once regard wherefore the holy-day was ordained, to seek for God's word: and so forth in all laws. And in ceremonies and sacraments, there he cap-

M. C. lxxx.

tivateth his wit and understanding to obey holy church, without asking what they mean, or desiring to know; but only careth for the keeping, and looketh ever with a pair of narrow eyes, and with all his spectacles upon them, lest aught be left out. For if the priest should say mass, baptize, or hear confession, without a stole about his neck, he would think all were marred, and doubt whether he had power to

M. C. lxxxi.

consecrate, and think that the virtue of the mass were lost, and the child not well baptized, or not baptized at all, and

M. C. lxxxi —lxxxiii.

that his absolution were not worth a mite. He had lever that the bishops should wag two fingers over him, than that another man should say, "God save him;" and so forth.

The world is to be rebuked for lack of judgment.

Wherefore, beloved reader, inasmuch as the Holy Ghost rebuketh the world for lack of judgment; and inasmuch also as their ignorance is without excuse, before whose faces

enough is set to judge by, if they would open their eyes to see, and not captivate their understanding to believe lies; and inasmuch as the spiritual judgeth all thing, even the very bottom of God's secrets; that is to say, the causes of the things which God commandeth; how much more ought we to judge our holy father's secrets[1], and not to be as an ox or an ass, without understanding! M. C. lxxxiii—iv.

Judge, therefore, reader, whether the pope with his be the church; whether their authority be above the scripture; whether all they teach without scripture be equal with the scripture; whether they have erred, and not only whether they can. And against the mist of their sophistry take the ensamples that are past, in the old Testament and authentic stories, and the present practice which thou seest before thine eyes. Judge whether it be possible that any good should come out of their dumb ceremonies and sacraments into thy soul. Judge their penance, pilgrimages, pardons, purgatory, praying to posts, dumb blessings, dumb absolutions, their dumb pattering, and howling, their dumb strange holy gestures, with all their dumb disguisings, their satisfactions and justifyings. And because thou findest them false in so many things, trust them in nothing; but judge them in all things[2]. Mark at the last the practice of our fleshly spiritualty and their ways, by which they have walked above eight hundred years; how they stablish their lies, first, with falsifying the scripture; then through corrupting with their riches, whereof they have infinite treasure in store; and last of all, with the sword. Have they not compelled the emperors of the earth, and the great lords and high officers to be obedient

Judge by these things, whether the pope have erred or not. M. C. lxxxiv—vii.

M.C. lxxxvii.

M. C. lxxxviii.

Judge what baggage is in the pope's doctrine, and of his making.

Note the practice of our fleshly spiritualty.

M. C. lxxxix.

[1 Meaning the pope; styled our holy father by papists in seriousness, but here ironically.]

[2 Sir Thomas More has the credit of being a more polished writer than Tyndale; and his confutation of the above three sentences is as follows: "Judge, good Christian reader, whether it be possible that he be any better than a beast, out of whose brutish beastly mouth cometh such a filthy foam of blasphemies against Christ's holy ceremonies and blessed sacraments, sent into his church out of his own blessed body side. And for because ye find this fellow so frantic and so false in the railing and jesting against the sacraments of Christ, ye may well judge that whoso can delight or be content with his blasphemous ribaldry, hath great cause in himself to fear that his christian faith beginneth to fail and to faint." Conf. p. lxxxviii.]

unto them, to dispute for them, and to be their tormentors; and the Samsumims[1] themselves do but imagine mischief, and inspire them?

The papists are gathered together against Christ. M. C. xc.

Mark whether it were ever truer than now, the scribes, Pharisees, Pilate, Herod, Caiaphas and Anna[2], are gathered together against God and Christ: but yet, I trust, in vain; and he that brake the counsel of Achitophel shall scatter theirs.

Our sin is the cause that hypocrites reign. M. C. xci.

Mark whether it be not true in the highest degree, that for the sin of the people hypocrites shall reign over them. What shews, what faces and contrary pretences are made, and all to stablish them in their theft, falsehood, and damnable lies, and to gather them together for to contrive

The practice of prelates.

subtilty, to oppress the truth, and to stop the light, and to keep all still in darkness! Wherefore it is time to awake,

M. C. xcii—iv.

and to see every man with his own eyes, and to judge; if we will not be judged of Christ, when he cometh to judge. And remember that he which is warned hath none excuse, if he take no heed. Herewith farewell in the Lord Jesus Christ, whose Spirit be thy guide, and doctrine thy light[3], to judge withal. Amen.

[1 See Deut. ii. 20.] [2 Annas.]

[3 The collated editions of Tyndale have *thy guide, and doctrine, and the light;* but Sir Thomas More's Confutation gives the reading introduced into our text.]

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AN ANSWER UNTO SIR THOMAS MORE'S DIALOGUE.

What the *church* is.

THIS word *church* hath divers significations. First it signifieth a place or house; whither christian people were wont in the old time to resort at times convenient, for to hear the word of doctrine, the law of God, and the faith of our Saviour Jesus Christ, and how and what to pray, and whence to ask power and strength to live godly. For the officer, thereto appointed, preached the pure word of God only, and prayed in a tongue that all men understood: and the people hearkened unto his prayers, and said thereto Amen; and prayed with him in their hearts, and of him learned to pray at home and everywhere, and to instruct every man his household.

M. C. xcv—vii. Significations of the word *church* are divers. M. C. c.

The ministers of the church are appointed to preach to the people on the word of God, and to pray in a tongue that all men understand.

Where now we hear but voices without significations, and buzzings, howlings, and cryings, as it were the hallooing of foxes, or baitings of bears; and wonder at disguisings and toys, whereof we know no meaning. By reason whereof we be fallen into such ignorance, that we know of the mercy and promises, which are in Christ, nothing at all. And of the law of God we think as do the Turks, and as did the old heathen people; how that it is a thing which every man may do of his own power, and in doing thereof becometh good, and waxeth righteous, and deserveth heaven; yea, and are yet more mad than that: for we imagine the same of fantasies, and vain ceremonies of our own making; neither needful unto the taming of our own flesh, neither profitable unto our neighbour, neither honour unto God. And of prayer we think, that no man can pray but at church; and that it is nothing else but to say *Pater noster* unto a post: wherewith yet, and with other observances of our own imagining, we believe we deserve to be sped of all that our blind hearts desire.

M. C. ci. The law cannot be fulfilled with works, be they never so holy.

M. C. ci.

A great abuse in prayer. M. C. ci—cxv.

The church taken for the spiritualty.

In another signification, it is abused and mistaken for a multitude of shaven, shorn, and oiled; which we now call the spiritualty and clergy. As when we read in the chronicles, 'King William was a great tyrant, and a wicked man unto holy church, and took much lands from them.' 'King John was also a perilous man and a wicked unto holy church; and would have had them punished for theft, murder, and whatsoever mischief they did, as though they had not been people anointed, but even of the vile rascal and common lay-people.' And, 'Thomas Becket was a blessed and an holy man; for he died for the liberties (to do all mischief unpunished) and privileges of the church.' 'Is he a layman, or a man of the church?' 'Such is the living of holy church.' 'So men say of holy church.' 'Ye must believe in holy church, and do as they teach you.' 'Will ye not obey holy church?' 'Will ye not do the penance enjoined you by holy church?' 'Will ye not forswear obedience unto holy church?' 'Beware lest ye fall into the indignation of holy church, lest they curse you;' and so forth. In which all, we understand but the pope, cardinals, legates, patriarchs, archbishops, bishops, abbots, priors, chancellors, archdeacons, commissaries, officials, priests, monks, friars, black, white, pied, grey, and so forth, by (I trow) a thousand names of blasphemy and of hypocrisies, and as many sundry fashions of disguisings.

King William. King John.

St Thomas of Canterbury. W. T.

Holy church hath borne a great swinge.

The pope and his rabble taken for the church.

The church is a congregation of people of all sorts gathered together.

It hath yet, or should have, another signification, little known among the common people now-a-days. That is to wit, it signifieth a congregation; a multitude or a company gathered together in one, of all degrees of people. As a man would say, 'the church of London,' meaning not the spiritualty only (as they will be called for their diligent serving of God in the spirit, and so sore eschewing to meddle with temporal matters), but the whole body of the city, of all kinds, conditions, and degrees: and 'the church of Bristow[1],' all that pertain unto that town generally. And what congregation is meant, thou shalt alway understand by the matter that is entreated of, and by the circumstances thereof. And in this third signification is the church of God, or Christ, taken in the scripture; even for the whole multitude of all them that receive the name of Christ to believe in him, and not for the clergy only. For Paul saith (Galatians i.),

The church of God, how it is taken in scripture.

Gal. i.

[1 Bristol.]

"I persecuted the church of God above measure:" which was not the preachers only, but all that believed generally: as it is to see Acts xxii. where he saith: "I persecuted this way even unto the death, binding and putting in prison both men and women." And (Galatians i.), "I was unknown concerning my person unto the congregations of the Jews which were in Christ." And (Rom. xvi.), "I commend unto you Phœbe, the deaconess of the church of Cenchris." And, "The churches of Asia salute you." (1 Cor. the last.) And, "If a man cannot rule his own house, how shall he take the care of the church of God?" "If any faithful man or woman have widows, let them find them, that the church be not charged." And, "If thy brother hear thee not, tell the church or congregation;" and so forth. In which places, and throughout all the scripture, the church is taken for the whole multitude of them that believe in Christ in that place, in that parish, town, city, province, land, or throughout all the world, and not for the spiritualty only.

Acts xxii.

Gal. i.

Rom. xvi.

1 Cor. xvi.

1 Tim. iii.

1 Tim. v. The church is a multitude of all them that believe in Christ, wheresoever they be gathered together. Matt. xviii.

Notwithstanding yet it is sometimes taken generally for all them that embrace the name of Christ, though their faiths be naught, or though they have no faith at all. And sometimes it is taken specially for the elect only; in whose hearts God hath written his law with his holy Spirit, and given them a feeling faith of the mercy that is in Christ Jesu our Lord.

M. C. xcviii—ix. A double signification of this word church. W.T.

Why Tyndale used this word *congregation*, rather than *church*, in the translation of the new Testament.

Wherefore, inasmuch as the clergy (as the nature of those hard and indurate adamant stones is, to draw all to them) had appropriate unto themselves the term that of right is common unto all the whole congregation of them that believe in Christ; and with their false and subtle wiles had beguiled and mocked the people, and brought them into the ignorance of the word; making them understand by this word *church* nothing but the shaven flock of them that shore the whole world; therefore in the translation of the new Testament, where I found this word *ecclesia*, I interpreted it by this word *congregation*. Even therefore did I it, and not of any mischievous mind or purpose to stablish heresy,

The cause why Tyndale translated the word *church* into this word *congregation*. M. C. cxv.

as Master More untruly reporteth of me in his dialogue, where he raileth on the translation of the new Testament[1].

And when M. More saith, that this word *church* is known well enough, I report me unto the consciences of all the land, whether he say truth or otherwise; or whether the lay-people understand by *church* the whole multitude of all

[1 Chapter viii. of Book III. of More's Dialogue is headed, "The author sheweth why the new Testament of Tyndale's translation was burned. And sheweth for a sample certain words evil, and of evil purpose changed." And it begins as follows:

"But now I pray you let me know your mind concerning the burning of the new Testament in English, which Tyndale lately translated, and (as men say) right well, which maketh men much marvel of the burning. It is, quoth I, to me great marvel that any good christian man, having any drop of wit in his head, should any thing marvel or complain of the burning of that book, if he knew the matter: which whoso calleth the new Testament, calleth it by a wrong name, except they would call it Tyndale's Testament, or Luther's Testament. For so had Tyndale, after Luther's counsel, corrupted and changed it from the good and wholesome doctrine of Christ to the devilish heresies of their own, that it was clean a contrary thing. That were marvel, quoth your friend, that it should be so clean contrary; for to some that read it, it seemed very like. It is, quoth I, nevertheless contrary, and yet the more perilous. For like as to a true silver groat a false copper groat is nevertheless contrary, though it be quicksilvered over, but so much the more false, in how much it is counterfeited the more like to the truth, and so much the more perilous in how much it was, to folk unlearned, more hard to be discerned. Why, quoth your friend, what faults were there in it? To tell you all that, quoth I, were in a manner to rehearse you all the whole book, wherein there were found and noted, wrong and falsely translated, above a thousand texts by tale. I would, quoth he, fain hear some one. He that should, quoth I, study for that, should study where to find water in the sea. But I will shew you, for ensample, two or three such as every one of the three is more than thrice three in one. That were, quoth he, very strange; except ye mean more in weight: for one can be but one, in number. Surely, quoth I, as weighty be they as any lightly can be. But I mean that every one of them is more than thrice three in number. These were, quoth he, somewhat like a riddle. This riddle, quoth I, will soon be read. For he hath mistranslated three words of great weight, and every one of them is, as I suppose, more than thrice three times repeated and rehearsed in the books. Ah, that may well be, quoth he; but that was not well done. But, I pray you, what words be these? The one is, quoth I, this word *Priests;* the other, *the Church;* the third, *Charity.*"]

that profess Christ, or the juggling spirits only. And when he saith that *congregation* is a more general term; if it were, it hurteth not: for the circumstance doth ever tell what congregation is meant. Nevertheless yet saith he not the truth. For wheresoever I may say a *congregation*, there may I say a *church* also; as the church of the devil, the church of Satan, the church of wretches, the church of wicked men, the church of liars, and a church of Turks thereto. For M. More must grant (if he will have *ecclesia* translated throughout all the new Testament by this word *church*) that *church* is as common as *ecclesia*. Now is *ecclesia* a Greek word, and was in use before the time of the apostles, and taken for a congregation among the heathen, where was no congregation of God or of Christ. And also Lucas himself useth *ecclesia* for a church, or congregation, of heathen people thrice in one chapter, even in the nineteenth chapter of the Acts[2], where Demetrius the goldsmith, or silversmith, had gathered a company against Paul for preaching against images.

M. C. cxvi—vii. Congregation is understood by the circumstance. M. C. cxviii—cxix.

M. C. cxx—xxxii. *Ecclesia* is a Greek word, and signifieth a congregation.

Acts xix.

Howbeit, M. More hath so long used his figures of poetry, that (I suppose) when he erreth most, he now, by the reason of a long custom, believeth himself that he saith most true. Or else, as the wise people, which when they dance naked in nets, believe that no man seeth them; even so M. More thinketh that his errors be so subtilly couched that no man can espy them. So blind he counteth all other men, in comparison of his great understanding. But charitably I exhort him in Christ to take heed; for though Judas were wilier than his fellows to get lucre, yet he proved not most wise at the last end. Neither though Baalam, the false prophet, had a clear sight to bring the curse of God upon the children of Israel for honour's sake; yet his covetousness did so blind his prophecy, that he could not see his own end. Let, therefore, M. More and his company awake by times, ere ever their sin be ripe; lest the voice of their wickedness ascend up, and awake God out of his sleep, to look upon them, and to bow his ears unto their cursed blasphemies against the open truth, and to send his harvestmen and mowers of vengeance to reap it.

M. More was skilful in poetry.

Judas.

Baalam.

A good admonition to M. More.

[2 Viz. in verses 32, 39, and 41; where Tyndale has rendered the word *congregation*, whilst our Auth. Vers. renders it *assembly*.]

M. More did greatly favour Erasmus.

But how happeth it that M. More hath not contended in like wise against his darling Erasmus all this long while? Doth he not change this word *ecclesia* into *congregation*, and that not seldom in the new Testament[1]? Peradventure he oweth him favour, because he made *Moria* in his house[2]: which book, if it were in English, then should every man see how that he then was far otherwise minded than he now writeth. But, verily, I think that as Judas betrayed not Christ for any love that he had unto the high priests, scribes and Pharisees, but only to come by that wherefore he thirsted; even so M. More (as there are tokens evident) wrote not these books for any affection that he bare unto the spiritualty, or unto the opinions which he so barely defendeth, but to obtain only that which he was an hungred for. I pray God that he eat not too hastily, lest he be choked at the latter end; but that he repent, and resist not the Spirit of God, which openeth light unto the world.

M. More was a deep dissembler.

Why he useth this word *elder*, and not *priest*.

M. More is captious. M. C. cxxxiii.

Another thing which he rebuketh is, that I interpret this Greek word *presbyteros* by this word *senior*. Of a truth *senior* is no very good English, though senior and junior be used in the universities; but there came no better in my mind at that time. Howbeit, I spied my fault since, long ere M. More told it me[3], and have mended it in all the works which I since made, and call it *an elder*. And in that he maketh heresy of it, to call *presbyteros* an *elder*, he condemneth their own old Latin text of heresy, which only they use yet daily in the church, and have used, I suppose, this fourteen hundred years: for that text doth call it *an elder* likewise. In the 1 Pet. v. thus standeth it in the Latin

M. More condemneth the Latin text. W. T. M. C. cxxxiv.

1 Pet. v.

[1 Erasmus has rendered it *congregation* in his version of Acts ii. 47; v. 11; xi. 26. Rom. xvi. 5. 1 Cor. xiv. 4. Col. iv. 15. Philemon, 2. And in Acts xix. 4 and Heb. xii. 23 he has rendered ἐκκλησία, *concio*.]

[2 Erasmus' celebrated sarcastic production, the *Encomium Moriæ;* in which he held up to ridicule the ignorance frequent among the popish clergy and the friars.]

[3 In the chapter just quoted More had said, "In our English tongue this word *seniour* signifieth nothing at all; but is a French word, used in English more than half in mockage, when one will call another *my lord* in scorn."]

text: *Seniores ergo qui in vobis sunt obsecro consenior, pascite qui in vobis est gregem Christi:* "The elders that are among you, I beseech, which am an elder also, that ye feed the flock of Christ, which is among you." There is *presbyteros* called an *elder*. And in that he saith, "Feed Christ's flock," he meaneth even the ministers that were chosen to teach the people, and to inform them in God's word, and no lay persons. And in the second epistle of John saith the text, *Senior electæ dominæ et filiis ejus:* "The elder unto the elect lady and to her children." And in the third epistle of John, *Senior Gaio dilecto:* "The elder unto the beloved Gaius." In these two epistles *presbyteros* is called an *elder*. And in Acts, chap. xx., the text saith: "Paul sent for *majores natu ecclesiæ*, the elders in birth of the congregation or church, and said unto them, Take heed unto yourselves, and unto the whole flock, over which the Holy Ghost hath made you *episcopos ad regendum ecclesiam Dei*," bishops, or[4] overseers, to govern the church of God. There is *presbyteros* called an *elder in birth;* which same immediately is called a bishop or overseer, to declare what persons are meant. Hereof ye see that I have no more erred than their own text, which they have used since the scripture was first in the Latin tongue, and that their own text understandeth by *presbyteros* nothing save an *elder*. And they were called elders, because of their age, gravity and sadness, as thou mayest see by the text; and bishops, or overseers, by the reason of their offices. And all that were called elders (or priests, if they so will) were called bishops also, though they have divided the names now: which thing thou mayest evidently see by the first chapter of Titus, and Acts xx., and other places more.

M. C. cxxxv—vi.

M. C. cxxxvii.

2 John.

3 John.

Acts xx.

Bishops are ordained to be overseers and governors of the church.

The ministers of the church, why they were called elders.

Titus i.

And when he layeth Timothy unto my charge, how he was young, then he weeneth that he hath won his gilden spurs[5]. But I would pray him to shew me where he readeth that Paul calleth him *presbyteros*, priest or elder. I durst not then call him *episcopus* properly: for those overseers, which we now call bishops after the Greek word, were

Bishops ought to be biders in one place.

[4 So C. U. L. ed. D. omits *or*.]

[5 A person capable of receiving knighthood was said to have won his spurs, when he had made himself so conspicuous in the field of battle as to ensure his being knighted.]

alway biding in one place, to govern the congregation there. Now was Timothy an apostle. And Paul also writeth that he came shortly again. Well, will he say, it cometh yet all to one; for if it becometh the lower minister to be of a sad and discreet age, much more it becometh the higher. It
Note. W. T. is truth. But two things are without law, God and necessity. If God, to shew his power, shall shed out his grace more upon youth than upon age at a time, who shall let him?
Women. W. T. Women be no meet vessels to rule or to preach, for both
God poureth his Holy Spirit, and endoweth with wisdom and learning, as well women as men. are forbidden them; yet hath God endowed them with his Spirit at sundry times, and shewed his power and goodness upon them, and wrought wonderful things by them, because he would not have them despised. We read that women have judged all Israel, and have been great prophetesses, and have done mighty deeds. Yea, and if stories be true, women have preached since the opening of the new testament. Do not our women now christen and minister the sacrament of baptism in time of need? Might they not, by as good reason, preach also, if necessity required? If a woman were driven into some island, where Christ was never preached, might she there not preach him, if she had the gift thereto? Might she not also baptize? And why might she not, by the same reason, minister the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, and teach them how to choose officers and ministers? O poor women, how despise ye them!
M. C. exli. The viler the better welcome unto you. An whore had ye lever than an honest wife. If only shaven and anointed may do these things, then Christ did them not, nor any of his apostles, nor any man in long time after: for they used no such ceremonies.

God is under no law; necessity lawless. Notwithstanding, though God be under no law, and necessity lawless; yet be we under a law, and ought to prefer the men before the women, and age before youth, as nigh as we can. For it is against the law of nature that young men should rule the elder, and as uncomely as that women should rule the men, but when need requireth. And therefore, if Paul had had other shift, and a man of age as meet for the room, he would not have put Timothy in the office; he should no doubt have been kept back until a fuller age, and have learned in the meantime in silence. And whatsoever thou be that readest this, I exhort thee in our Lord,

that thou read both the epistles of Paul to Timothy; that thou mayest see how diligently (as a mother careth for her child, if it be in peril) Paul writeth unto Timothy, to instruct him, to teach him, to exhort, to courage him, to stir him up to be wise, sober, diligent, circumspect, sad[1], humble and meek, saying: "These I write that thou mayest know how to behave thyself in the house of God, which is the church" or congregation. Avoid lusts of youth, beware of ungodly fables and old wives' tales; and avoid the company of men of corrupt minds, which waste their brains about wrangling questions. "Let no man despise thine youth." As who shall say, 'Youth is a despised thing of itself; whereunto men give none obedience naturally or reverence[2]. See, therefore, that thy virtue exceed, to recompense thy lack of age; and that thou so behave thyself that no fault be found with thee.' And again, "Rebuke not an elder sharply, but exhort him as thy father, and young men as thy brethren, and the elder women as thy mothers, and the young women as thy sisters;" and such like in every chapter. "Admit none accusation against an elder, under less than two witnesses." And Paul chargeth him "in the sight of God and of the Lord Jesus Christ, and of his elect angels, to do nothing rashly," or of affection. And shortly, whereunto youth is most prone and ready to fall, thereof warneth he him with all diligence, even almost or altogether half a dozen times of some one thing. And finally, as a man would teach a child that had never before gone to school, so tenderly and so carefully doth Paul teach him. It is another thing to teach the people, and to teach the preacher. Here Paul teacheth the preacher, young Timothy.

The cause why young Timothy was preferred by Paul to be a bishop.

Paul was a fatherly instructor to Timothy.

St Paul was a worthy and most reverend father and instructor.

A great difference between teaching of the people, and teaching of a preacher.

And when he affirmeth that I say, how that the oiling and shaving is no part of the priesthood[3], that improveth he not, nor can do. And therefore I say it yet. And when he hath insearched the uttermost that he can, this is all that he can lay against me, that of an hundred there be not ten that have the properties which Paul requireth to be in them. Wherefore, if oiling and shaving be no part of their priesthood, then

Oiling nor shaving is any thing or any part of priesthood.

M. C. cxlvi—viii.

[1 Sad: grave.] [2 So C. U. L. ed.]

[3 "The name of priest which to us, in our own tongue, hath always signified an *anointed* person, and with holy orders consecrated unto God, he hath changed." More's Dial.]

evermore of a thousand nine hundred at the least should be no priests at all. And "Quoth your friend[1]" would confirm it with an oath, and swear deeply, that it would follow, and that it must needs so be: which argument yet, if there were no other shift, I would solve after an Oxford fashion, with *Concedo consequentiam et consequens*[2]. And I say moreover, that their anointing is but a ceremony borrowed of the Jews, though they have somewhat altered the manner; and their shaving borrowed of the heathen priests; and that they be no more of their priesthood, than the oil, salt, spittle, taper and chrisom-cloth, of the substance of baptism. Which things, no doubt, because they be of their conjuring, they would have preached of necessity unto the salvation of the child, except necessity had driven them unto the contrary. And seeing that the oil is not of necessity, let M. More tell me what more virtue is in the oil of confirmation, inasmuch as the bishop sacreth the one as well as the other; yea, and let him tell the reason why there should be more virtue in the oil wherewith the bishop anointeth his priests. Let him tell you from whence the oil cometh, how it is made, and why he selleth it to the curates wherewith they anoint the sick, or whether this be of less virtue than the other.

Oil, salt, and spittle are no parts of baptism.

M. C. cxlv—vi.

Oil hath in it no virtue at all, though the bishop hallow it.

M. C. cxxxviii.

And finally, why used not the apostles this Greek word *hiereus*, or the interpreter this Latin word *sacerdos*, but alway this word *presbyteros* and *senior*, by which was at that time nothing signified but[3] an elder? And it was no doubt taken of the custom of the Hebrews, where the officers were ever elderly men, as nature requireth: as it appeareth in the old Testament, and also in the new. "The scribes, Pharisees, and the elders of the people," saith the text; which were the officers and rulers, so called by the reason of their age.

The ministers among the Jews were named elders, because of their age.

Why he useth *love*, rather than *charity*.

M. C. cxlix. Why Tyndale useth this word love rather than charity.

He rebuketh me also that I translate this Greek word *agape* into *love*, and not rather into *charity*, so holy and so known a term. Verily, *charity* is no known English, in that

[1 Tyndale's ironical name for a speaker in More's Dialogue.]

[2 I concede the consequence and whatever is deducible.]

[3 So D. The C. U. L. ed. has *then*, i. e. *than*.]

sense which *agape* requireth. For when we say, 'Give your alms in the worship of God, and sweet St Charity;' and when the father teacheth his son to say, 'Blessing, father, for St Charity;' what mean they? In good faith they wot not. Moreover, when we say, 'God help you, I have done my charity for this day,' do we not take it for alms? and, 'The man is ever chiding and out of charity;' and, 'I beshrew him, saving my charity;' there we take it for patience. And when I say, 'A charitable man,' it is taken for merciful. And though mercifulness be a good love, or rather spring of a good love, yet is not every good love mercifulness. As when a woman loveth her husband godly, or a man his wife or his friend that is in none adversity, it is not always mercifulness. Also we say not, This man hath a great charity to God; but a great love. Wherefore I must have used this general term *love* in spite of mine heart oftentimes. And *agape* and *caritas* were words used among the heathen, ere Christ came; and signified therefore more than a *godly love*. And we may say well enough, and have heard it spoken, that the Turks be charitable one to another among themselves, and some of them unto the Christians too. Besides all this, *agape* is common unto all loves.

Charity hath divers significations.

Love is also diversely understood.

M. C. cl, cli.

And when M. More saith, "Every love is not charity[4];" no more is every apostle Christ's apostle; nor every angel God's angel; nor every hope Christian hope; nor every faith, or belief, Christ's belief; and so by an hundred thousand words: so that if I should always use but a word that were no more general than the word I interpret, I should interpret nothing at all. But the matter itself and the circumstances do declare what love, what hope, and what faith is spoken of. And, finally, I say not, charity God, or charity your neighbour; but, love God, and love your neighbour; yea, and though we say a man ought to love his neighbour's wife and his daughter, a christian man doth not[5] understand that he is commanded to defile his neighbour's wife or his neighbour's daughter[6].

Every love is not charity, nor every charity is not love.

M. C. cli.

M. C. clii.

[4 "Charity signifieth, in Englishmen's ears, not every common love, but a good, virtuous, and well ordered love." More's Dial.]

[5 So C. U. L. ed. and More's Conf. In D. *not* is omitted, but doubtless only by an error of the press.]

[6 In More's quotation *neighbour's daughter;* but in the collated editions of Tyndale *neighbour's* is omitted.]

Why *favour*, and not *grace*.

Why Tyndale saith favour, and not grace. M. C. cliii.

And with like reasons rageth he, because I turn *charis* into *favour*, and not into *grace:* saying that "every favour is not grace, and that in some favour there is but little grace." I can say also, 'in some grace there is little goodness;' and when we say 'he standeth well in my lady's grace,' we understand no great godly favour. And in universities many ungracious graces there be[1] gotten.

Why *knowledge*, and not *confession; repentance*, and not *penance*.

M. C. cliv. Knowledge and not confession, repentance and not penance.

And that I use this word *knowledge*, and not confession; and this word *repentance*, and not *penance*[2]. In which all he cannot prove that I give not the right English unto the Greek word. But it is a far other thing that paineth them, and biteth them by the breasts. There be secret pangs that pinch the very hearts of them, whereof they dare not complain. The sickness, that maketh them so impatient, is that they have lost their juggling terms. For the doctors and preachers were wont to make many divisions, distinctions, and sorts of grace; *gratis data, gratum faciens, prævenien*s, and *subsequens*[3]. And with confession they juggled; and so made the people, as oft as they spake of it, understand *shrift in the ear;* whereof the scripture maketh no mention: no, it is clean against the scripture, as they use it and preach it; and unto God an abomination, and a foul stinking sacrifice unto the filthy idol Priapus. The loss of those juggling terms is the matter whereof all these bots breed; that gnaw them by the bellies, and make them so unquiet.

M. C. cliv—v. The papists may not forbear to have their juggling terms. M. C. clvi—vii.

Penance.

And in like manner, by this word *penance* they make the people understand holy deeds of their enjoining; with

[1 So in More's quotation; but the collated editions of Tyndale omit *there be*.—More says, "He should have made it more plain and better perceived, if he had said, as for ensample, when his own grace was there granted, to be made master of arts." Confut. The passing of any resolution by the ruling body for the conferring of a degree is called passing a grace, in the university of Cambridge.]

[2 "Confession he translateth into knowledge: penance into repentance; a contrite heart he changeth into a troubled heart." More's Dial. B. III. chap. viii. The reader has seen that Tyndale frequently uses *knowledge* for *acknowledge*.]

[3 Freely given: making acceptable; going before; and following after.]

which they must make satisfaction unto God-ward for their sins: when all the scripture preacheth that Christ hath made full satisfaction for our sins to God-ward; and we must now be thankful to God again, and kill the lusts of our flesh with holy works of God's enjoining. And I am bound to take patiently all that God layeth on my back; and, if I have hurt my neighbour, to shrive myself unto him, and to make him amends, if I have wherewith; or if not, then to ask him forgiveness, and he is bound to forgive me. And as for their *penance*, the scripture knoweth not of [it]. The Greek hath *Metanoia*, and *Metanoite*, repentance and repent; or forethinking and forethink. As we say in English, 'It forethinketh me, or I forethink[4];' and 'I repent, or it repenteth me;' and 'I am sorry that I did it.' So now the scripture saith, 'Repent, or let it forethink you; and come and believe the gospel, or glad tidings, that is brought you in Christ, and so shall all be forgiven you; and henceforth live a new life.' And it will follow, if I repent in the heart, that I shall do no more so, willingly and of purpose. And if I believed the gospel, what God hath done for me in Christ, I should surely love him again, and of love prepare myself unto his commandments.

Penance was profitable to the papists.

True penance, what it is.

M. C. clx—clxiv.

Faith in Christ bringeth true repentance.

M. C. clxiv—vi.

M. C. clxvii—clxxi.

These things to be even so, M. More knoweth well enough: for he understandeth the Greek, and he knew them long ere I. But so blind is covetousness and drunken desire of honour. "Gifts blind the eyes of the seeing, and pervert the words of the righteous." (Deut. xvi.) When covetousness findeth vantage in serving falsehood, it riseth up into an obstinate malice against the truth, and seeketh all means to resist it and to quench it: as Balaam the false prophet, though he wist that God loved Israel, and had blessed them, and promised them great things, and that he would fulfil his promises; yet for covetousness and desire of honour he fell into such malice against the truth of God, that he sought how to resist it and to curse the people: which when God would not let him do, he turned himself another way, and gave pestilent counsel to make the people sin against God; whereby the wrath of God fell upon them, and many thousands perished. Notwithstanding God's truth abode fast, and was fulfilled in the rest. And Balaam, as he

Deut. xvi.

Balaam.

[4 See Vol. I. p. 260, n. 2.]

was the cause that many perished, so escaped he not himself. No more did any that maliciously resisted the open truth against his own conscience, since the world began, that ever I read. For it is sin against the Holy Ghost, which Christ saith shall neither be forgiven here, nor in the world to come: which text may thiswise be understood, that as that sin shall be punished with everlasting damnation in the life to come, even so shall it not escape vengeance here; as thou seest in Judas, in Pharaoh, in Balaam, and in all other tyrants, which against their consciences resisted the open truth of God.

The sin against the Holy Ghost. W. T.

So now the cause why our prelates thus rage, and that moveth them to call M. More to help, is not that they find just causes in the translation, but because they have lost their juggling and feigned terms; wherewith Peter prophesied they should make merchandise of the people.

2 Pet. ii.

M. C. clxxiii. Whether the church were before the gospel, or the gospel before the church.

Another doubt there is; whether the church or congregation be before the gospel, or the gospel before the church: which question is as hard to solve, as whether the father be elder than the son, or the son elder than his father. For the whole scripture, and all believing hearts, testify that we are begotten through the word. Wherefore, if the word beget the congregation, and he that begetteth is before him that is begotten, then is the gospel before the church. Paul also (Rom. x.) saith, "How shall they call on him whom they believe not? And how shall they believe without a preacher?" That is, Christ must first be preached, ere men can believe in him. And then it followeth, that the word of the preacher must be before the faith of the believer. And therefore, inasmuch as the word is before the faith, and faith maketh the congregation, therefore is the word or gospel before the congregation. And again, as the air is dark of itself, and receiveth all her light of the sun; even so are all men's hearts of themselves dark with lies, and receive all their truth of God's word, in that they consent thereto. And, moreover, as the dark air giveth the sun no light, but contrariwise the light of the sun in respect of the air is of itself,

M. C. clxxv—vii. The church before the gospel, or the gospel before the church.

Rom. x.

The word, which is the gospel, was before the church. M. C. clxxvii—viii.

and lighteneth the air, and purgeth it from darkness: even so, the lying heart of man can give the word of God no truth; but, contrariwise, the truth of God's word is of herself, and lighteneth the hearts of the believers, and maketh them true, and cleanseth them from lies, as thou readest, John xv: "Ye be clean by reason of the word." Which is to be understood, in that the word had purged their hearts from lies, from false opinions, and from thinking evil good, and therefore from consenting to sin. And (John xvii.) "Sanctify them, O Father, through thy truth: and thy word is truth." And thus thou seest that God's truth dependeth not of man. It is not true because man so saith, or admitteth it for true: but man is true, because he believeth it, testifieth and giveth witness in his heart that it is true. And Christ also saith himself, (John v.) "I receive no witness of man[1]." For if

John xv.

John xvii.

M. C. clxxix—ccii.

Note well this.

[1 To this More objects that Tyndale has translated this clause: "I receive no recorde of man;" whereas he should have preserved the force of the Greek article, and have rendered it, "I receive not the recorde of man." He objects that there is the like inaccuracy in Tyndale's translation of John i. 21, "Art thou *a* prophet? And he answered, No." "Tyndale," says he, "by the Greek tongue, perceiving the article, saw well enough that he should not have translated it into the English, *Art thou a prophet*, but *Art thou* THAT *prophet?*—to wit, the great prophet of whom Moses prophesied." To this remark More subjoins a curious criticism, to which we shall find Tyndale afterwards adverting, on the distinction between the use of the particles *Nay* and *No*.

"I would not here note by the way," says he, "that Tyndale here translateth *no* for *nay*, for it is but a trifle, and mistaking of the English word; saving that ye should see that he which in two so plain English words, and so common as is *nay* and *no*, cannot tell when he should take the tone, and when the tother, is not for translating into English a man very meet. For the use of those two words, in answering to a question, is this. *No* answereth the question framed by the affirmative: as for ensample, if a man should ask Tyndale himself, Is an heretic meet to translate holy scripture into English? Lo, to this question, if he will answer true English, he must answer *nay;* and not, *no*. But and if the question be asked him thus, Lo, is not an heretic meet to translate holy scripture into English? To this question, lo, if he will answer true English, he must answer *no:* and not *nay*. And a like difference is there between these two adverbs, *Yea* and *Yes*. For if the question be framed unto Tyndale by the affirmative, in this fashion: If an heretic falsely translate the new Testament into English, to make his false heresies seem the word of God, be his books worthy to be

the multitude of man's witness might make aught true, then were the doctrine of Mahomet truer than Christ's.

M. C. ccii—iii. Whether the apostles left aught unwritten, that is of necessity to be believed.

M. C. cciv—ccvi. Whether the apostles taught any thing that they did not write.

But did not the apostles teach aught by mouth, that they wrote not? I answer, because that many taught one thing, and every man the same in divers places, and unto divers people, and confirmed every sermon with a sundry miracle; therefore Christ and his apostles preached an hundred thousand sermons, and did as many miracles, which had been superfluous to have been all written. But the pith and substance in general of every thing necessary unto our souls' health, both of what we ought to believe, and what we ought to do, was written; and of the miracles done to confirm it, as many as were needful: so that whatsoever we ought to believe or do, that same is written expressly, or drawn out of that which is written.

M. C. ccvii—viii.

So much is written as is necessary for our salvation.

M. C. ccxi—xii.

For if I were bound to do or believe, under pain of the loss of my soul, anything that were not[1] written, nor depended of that which is written, what holp me the scripture that is written? And thereto, inasmuch as Christ and all his apostles warned us that false prophets should come with false miracles, even to deceive the elect if it were possible; wherewith should the true preacher confound the false, except he brought true miracles to confound the false, or else authentic scripture, of full authority already among the people?

The scripture written must confound the unwritten verities.

M. C. ccxiii—xix.

M. C. ccxix—xxi.

Some man would ask, How did God continue his congregation from Adam to Noe, and from Noe to Abraham, and

burned? To this question, asked in this wise, if he will answer true English, he must answer *Yea;* and not, *Yes.* But now if the question be asked him thus, lo, by the negative: If an heretic falsely translate the new Testament into English, to make his false heresies seem the word of God, be not his books well worthy to be burned? To this question, in this fashion framed, if he will answer true English, he may not answer *Yea;* but he must answer *Yes;* and say, *yes,* marry, be they, both the translation and the translator, and all that will hold with them." Conf. of Tyndale's Answer, clxxx.]

[1 So C. U. L. ed. and so More quotes this passage; but D. has *were written.*]

so to Moses, without writing, but with teaching from mouth to mouth? I answer, first, that there was no scripture all the while, they shall prove when our lady hath a new son. God taught Adam greater things than to write. And that there was writing in the world long ere Abraham, yea and ere Noe, do stories testify[2]. Notwithstanding, though there had been no writing, the preachers were ever prophets, glorious in doing of miracles, wherewith they confirmed their preaching. And beyond that, God wrote his testament unto them alway, both what to do and to believe, even in sacraments. For the sacrifices which God gave Adam's sons were no dumb popetry[3] or superstitious mahometry, but signs of the testament of God. And in them they read the word of God, as we do in books; and as we should do in our sacraments, if the wicked pope had not taken the significations away from us, as he hath robbed us of the true sense of all the scripture. The testament which God made with Noe, that he would no more drown the world with water, he wrote in the sacrament of the rainbow. And the appointment made between him and Abraham he wrote in the sacrament of circumcision. And therefore said Stephen, (Acts vii.) "He gave them the testament[4] of circumcision:" not that the outward circumcision was the whole testament, but the sacrament or sign thereof. For circumcision preached God's word unto them, as I have in other places declared.

Writing hath been from the beginning. M. C. ccxxi. M. C. ccxxii.

M. C. ccxxii —ccxxiv.

God from the beginning hath written his will in the hearts of his elect.

The pope hath taken from us the significations of the sacraments. M. C. ccxxv —vii.

Acts vii.

But in the time of Moses, when the congregation was increased, that they must have many preachers, and also rulers temporal, then all was received in scripture; insomuch that Christ and his apostles might not have been believed without scripture, for all their miracles. Wherefore, inasmuch as Christ's congregation is spread abroad into all the world, much broader than Moses'; and inasmuch as we have not the old Testament only, but also the new, wherein all things are opened so richly, and all fulfilled that before was promised; and inasmuch as there is no promise behind of aught to be shewed more, save the resurrection; yea, and seeing that Christ and all the apostles, with all the angels of heaven, if

M. C. ccxxviii.

M. C. ccxxix.

There can no more be taught us than is contained in the scriptures.

M. C. ccxxx —ccxxxii.

[2 He was doubtless led to say this by believing Josephus' tale about the pillars of Seth. Hist. Jud. L. i. c. 2.]

[3 Popetrie, or puppetry.]

[4 So Tynd. translation; and see Vol. i. p. 409.]

they were here, could preach no more than is preached, of necessity unto our souls: how then should we receive a new article of the faith, without scripture, as profitable unto my soul, when I had believed it, as smoke for sore eyes? What help it me to believe that our lady's body is in heaven? What am I the better for the belief of purgatory? To fear[1] men, thou wilt say. Christ and his apostles thought hell enough. And yet (besides that the fleshly imagination may not stand with God's word) what great fear can there be of that terrible fire, which thou mayest quench almost for three half-pence[2]? And that the apostles should teach aught by mouth which they would not write, I pray you for what purpose? Because they should not come into the hands of the heathen for mocking, saith M. More[3]. I pray you, what thing more to be mocked of the heathen could they teach, than the resurrection; and that Christ was God and man, and died between two thieves; and that for his death's sake all that repent, and believe therein, should have their sins forgiven them? Yea, and if the apostles understood thereby as we do, what madder thing unto heathen people could they have taught than that bread is Christ's body, and wine his blood? And yet all these things they wrote. And again, purgatory,

M.C. ccxxxii—ccxxxvi. Purgatory.

M. C. ccxxxvii.

M. C. ccxxxiii.

M. C. ccxxxix—xl.

M. C. ccxli. The heathen thought nothing more madder than the doctrine of the resurrection.

[1 To make men fear. See Vol. I. p. xxvii.]

[2 To this More replies, "Likewise as though the sacrament of penance be able to put away the eternality of the pain, yet hath the party, for all that, cause to fear both purgatory and hell too, least some default upon his own part letted God in the sacrament to work such grace in him as should serve therefore; so though the pardon be able to discharge a man of purgatory, yet may there be such default in the party, to whom the pardon is granted, that though he give for three-halfpence three hundred pound, yet shall he receive no pardon at all. And therefore can he not be, for three-halfpence, out of fear of purgatory; but ever hath cause to fear it. For no man, except revelation, can be sure whether he be partner of the pardon or not." Conf. p. ccxxxvii.]

[3 "For my part I would little doubt, but that the evangelists and apostles both of many great and secret mysteries spake much more openly, and much more plainly, by mouth among the people, than ever they put it in writing; forasmuch as their writings were likely enough, at that time, to come into the hands of pagans and paynims, such hogs and dogs, as were not meetly to have those precious pearls put upon their nose, nor that holy food to be dashed in their teeth." More's Dialogue, B. I. ch. 25. fol. 159. col. 1.]

confession in the ear, penance and satisfaction for sin to Godward, with holy deeds, and praying to saints, with such like, as dumb sacraments and ceremonies, are marvellous agreeable unto the superstition of the heathen people; so that they needed not to abstain from writing of them, for fear lest the heathen should have mocked them.

M. C. ccxlii—ccxlix. The apostles taught nothing that they were afraid to write.

Moreover, what is it that the apostles taught by mouth, and durst not write? The sacraments? As for baptism, and the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, they wrote, and it is expressed what is signified by them. And also all the ceremonies and sacraments that were from Adam to Christ had significations; and all that are made mention of in the new Testament. Wherefore, inasmuch as the sacraments of the old Testament have significations; and inasmuch as the sacraments of the new Testament (of which mention is made that they were delivered unto us by the very apostles, at Christ's commandment) have also significations; and inasmuch as the office of an apostle is to edify in Christ; and inasmuch as a dumb ceremony edificth not, but hurteth altogether (for if it preach not unto me, then I cannot but put confidence therein that the deed itself justifieth me, which is the denying of Christ's blood); and inasmuch as no mention is made of them, as well as of other, nor is known what is meant by them; therefore it appeareth that the apostles taught them not, but that they be the false merchandise of wily hypocrites. And thereto, priesthood was, in the time of the apostles, an office, which if they would do truly, it would more profit than all the sacraments in the world. And again, God's holinesses strive not one against another, nor defile one another. Their sacraments defile one another: for wedlock defileth priesthood more than whoredom, theft, murder, or any sin against nature[4].

M. C. cclx—ccl. Sacraments have significations. W. T. M. C. ccli.

All the sacraments, taught either in the old Testament or new, have significations.

M. C. cclii. The popish sacraments strive one against another. M. C. cclii—iv.

They will haply demand where it is written, that women should baptize? Verily, in this commandment, "Love thy neighbour as thyself," it is written that they may and ought

M. C. ccviii—ccxi.

[4 More says in his Conf., "Syth the marriage is no marriage, it is but whoredom itself. And I am sure also that it defileth the priest more than double and treble whoredom; syth that his marriage being, as it is, unlawful, and thereby none other but whoredom, doth openly rebuke and shame two sacraments there at once, that is, both priesthood and matrimony." p. ccliiii.]

to minister not only baptism, but all other sacraments also[1] in time of need, if they be so necessary as they preach them.

Sacraments without significations are not to be received.

M. C. celiii—celvii.

And finally, though we were sure that God himself had given us a sacrament, whatsoever it were, yet if the signification were once lost, we must of necessity either seek up the signification, or put some[2] signification of God's word thereto, what we ought to do or believe thereby, or else put it down. For it is impossible to observe a sacrament, without signification, but unto our damnation. If we keep the faith purely and the law of love undefiled, which are the significations of all ceremonies, there is no jeopardy to alter or change the fashion of the ceremony, or to put it down, if need require[3].

Whether the church can err.

Whether the church can err, or not.

There is another question, whether the church may err. Which if ye understand of the pope and his generation, it is verily as hard a question as to ask whether he which had both his eyes out be blind or no; or whether it be possible for him that hath one leg shorter than another to halt. But I said that Christ's elect church is the whole multitude of all repenting sinners that believe in Christ, and put all their trust and confidence in the mercy of God; feeling in their hearts that God for Christ's sake loveth them, and will be, or rather is, merciful unto them, and forgiveth them their sins of which they repent; and that he forgiveth them also all the motions unto sin, of which they fear lest they should thereby be drawn into sin again. And this faith they have without all respect of their own deservings, yea, and for none other cause than that the merciful truth of God the Father, which cannot lie, hath so promised and so sworn.

What the very church is, and what faith saveth. W. T.

By faith we are made the sons of God.

And this faith and knowledge is everlasting life; and by this we be born anew, and made the sons of God, and obtain

[1] The words *sacraments also* are supplied from More's quotation, according to which however this short paragraph would seem to have been incorporated originally in the second paragraph of the chapter.]

[2] In More's quotation, *some other*.]

[3] More, *need be*. By this time More must have perceived that if he continued his criticisms on the same scale, his Confutation must become an immense volume: so he passes on abruptly to Tyndale's remarks on chap. xxv. of B. I. of the Dialogue, without taking any notice of the seventy intermediate pages.]

forgiveness of sins, and are translated from death to life, and from the wrath of God unto his love and favour. And this faith is the mother of all truth, and bringeth with her the Spirit of all truth; which Spirit purgeth us, as from all sin, even so from all lies and error, noisome and hurtful. And this faith is the foundation laid of the apostles and prophets; whereon Paul saith (Eph. ii.) that we are built, and thereby of the household of God. And this faith is the rock, whereon Christ built his congregation. Christ asked the apostles (Matt. xvi.) whom they took him for. And Peter answered for them all, saying, "I say that thou art Christ, the Son of the living God, that art come into this world." That is, We believe that thou art he that was promised unto Abraham, that should come, bless us, and deliver us. Howbeit, Peter yet wist not, by what means. But now it is opened throughout all the world, that, through the offering of his body and blood, that offering is a satisfaction for the sin of all that repent, and a purchasing of whatsoever they can ask, to keep them in favour; and that they sin no more. And Christ answered, "Upon this rock I will build my congregation:" that is, upon this faith. And against the rock of this faith can no sin, no hell, no devil, no lies, nor error prevail.

Eph. ii.

Matt. xvi.

The offering of Christ's body and blood is the only satisfaction for our sins.

For whatsoever any man hath committed, if he repent and come to this rock, he is safe. And that this faith is the only way by which the church of Christ goeth unto God, and unto the inheritance of all his riches, testify all the apostles and prophets, and all the scripture, with signs and miracles, and all the blood of martyrs. And whosoever goeth unto God, and unto forgiveness of sins, or salvation, by any other way than this, the same is an heretic out of the right way, and not of Christ's church.

There is no way to salvation, but by Christ's death and passion.

For this knowledge maketh a man of the church. And the church is Christ's body (Col. i.); and every person of the church is a member of Christ (Eph. v.). Now it is no member of Christ that hath not Christ's Spirit in it (Rom. viii.); as it is no part of me, or member of my body, wherein my soul is not present and quickeneth it. And then, if a man be none of Christ's, he is not of his church.

Col. i.

Eph. v.

Rom. viii.

How a true member of Christ's church sinneth not; and how he is yet a sinner.

Furthermore, he that hath this faith cannot sin, and therefore cannot be deceived with damnable errors. For by this faith we be (as I said) born of God. Now "he that is born of God cannot sin, for his seed dwelleth in him, and he cannot therefore sin, because he is born of God" (1 John iii.); which seed is the Holy Ghost, that keepeth a man's heart from consenting unto sin. And therefore it is a false conclusion that M. More holdeth, how that a man may have a right faith joined with all kinds of abomination and sin.

1 John iii.

Faith and sin cannot stand together.

And yet every member of Christ's congregation is a sinner, and sinneth daily; some more, and some less. For it is written, (1 John i.) "If we say we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us." And again, "If we say we have not sinned, we make him a liar, and his word is not in us." And Paul (Rom. vii.) saith, "That good which I would, that do I not; but that evil which I would not, that do I. So it is not I that do it (saith he), but sin that dwelleth in me." Thus are we sinners, and no sinners: no sinners, if thou look unto the profession of our hearts toward the law of God; on our repentance and sorrow that we have, both because we have sinned, and also because we be yet full of sin still; and unto the promises of mercy in our Saviour Christ; and unto our faith. Sinners are we, if thou look unto the frailty of our flesh; which is as the weakness of one that is newly recovered out of a great disease, by the reason whereof our deeds are imperfect; and by the reason whereof also, when occasions be great, we fall into horrible deeds, and the fruit of the sin which remaineth in our members breaketh out. Notwithstanding yet the Spirit leaveth us not, but rebuketh us, and bringeth us home again unto our profession: so that we never cast off the yoke of God from our necks, neither yield up ourselves unto sin for to serve it, but fight afresh, and begin a new battle.

1 John i.

Rom. vii.

All flesh doth sin.

How a christian man cannot err, and how he may yet err.

And as they sin not, so they err not. And on the other side as they sin, so they err: but never unto death and dam-

nation. For they never sin of purpose, nor hold any error maliciously, sinning against the Holy Ghost; but of weakness and infirmity: as good obedient children, though they love their father's commandments, yet break them oft by the reason of their weakness. And as they cannot yield themselves bond unto sin, to serve it, even so they cannot err in any thing that should be against the promises which are in Christ. And in other things their errors be not unto damnation, though they be never so great, because they hold them not maliciously: as now, if some, when they read in the new Testament of Christ's brethren, would think that they were our lady's children, after the birth of Christ, (because they know not the use of speaking of the scripture or of the Hebrews, how that nigh kinsmen be called brethren, or haply they might be Joseph's children by some first wife,) neither can have any to teach them for tyranny that is so great; yet could it not hurt them, though they died therein, because it hurteth not that redemption that is in Christ's blood: for though she had none but Christ, I am therefore never the more saved; neither yet the less, though she had had. And in such like an hundred, that pluck not a man's faith from Christ, they might err, and yet be nevertheless saved; no, though the contrary were written in the gospel. For as in other sins, as soon as they be rebuked, they repent; even so here, as soon as they were better taught, they should immediately knowledge their error, and not resist.

We sin frailty and weakness.

We may err, and yet be saved.

But they which maliciously maintain opinions against the scripture, or that they cannot be proved by the scripture; or such as make no matter unto the scripture and salvation that is in Christ, whether they be true or no; and for the blind zeal of them make sects, breaking the unity of Christ's church, for whose sake they ought to suffer all things; and rise against their neighbours, whom they ought to love as themselves, to slay them; such men, I say, are fallen from Christ, and make an idol of their opinions. For except they put trust in such opinions, and thought them necessary unto salvation, or with a cankered conscience went about to deceive for some filthy purpose; they would never break the unity of faith, or yet slay their brethren. Now is this a plain conclusion, that both they that trust in their own

Who they be, that err from the way of faith.

works, and they also that put confidence in their own opinions, be fallen from Christ, and err from the way of faith that is in Christ's blood, and therefore are none of Christ's church, because they be not built upon the rock of faith.

Faith is ever assailed and fought withal.

Faith is ever assailed with desperation.

Moreover, this our faith which we have in Christ is ever fought against, ever assailed and beaten at with desperation: not when we sin only, but also in all temptations of adversity, into which God bringeth us to nurture us, and to shew us our own hearts, the hypocrisy and false thoughts that there lie hid, our almost no faith at all, and as little love, even then haply when we thought ourselves most perfect of all. For when temptations come, we cannot stand; when we have sinned, faith is feeble; when wrong is done us, we cannot forgive; in sickness, in loss of goods, and in all tribulations, we be impatient; when our neighbour needeth our help, that we must depart[1] with him of ours, then love is cold.

All power and readiness to do good cometh of God, and not of ourselves.

And thus we learn and feel that there is no goodness nor yet power to do good, but of God only. And in all such temptations our faith perisheth not utterly, neither our love and consent unto the law of God; but they be weak, sick, and wounded, and not clean dead: as a good child, whom

A very good example.

the father and mother have taught nurture and wisdom, loveth his father and all his commandments, and perceiveth of the goodness shewed him, that his father loveth him, and that all his father's precepts are unto his wealth and profit, and that his father commandeth him nothing for any need that his father hath thereof, but seeketh his profit only, and therefore hath a good faith unto all his father's promises, and loveth all his commandments, and doth them with good will, and with good will goeth to school; and by the way haply he seeth company play, and with the sight is taken and ravished of his memory, and forgetteth himself, and standeth and beholdeth, and falleth to play also, forgetting father and mother, all their kindness, all their laws, and his own profit thereto: howbeit, the knowledge of his father's kindness, the faith of his promises, and the love that he hath again unto his father, and the obedient mind, are not utterly quenched, but lie hid,

[1 Depart: part, divide. See Vol. I. p. 69.]

as all things do when a man sleepeth or lieth in a trance. And as soon as he hath played out all his lusts, or been warned in the mean season, he cometh again unto his old profession. Neverthelater, many temptations go over his heart, and the law, as a right hang-man, tormenteth his conscience, and goeth nigh to persuade him that his father will cast him away and hang him, if he catch him; so that he is like, a great while, to run away, rather than to return unto his father again. Fear and dread of rebuke, and of loss of his father's love, and of punishment, wrestle with the trust which he hath in his father's goodness, and as it were give his faith a fall. But it riseth again as soon as the rage of the first brunt is past, and his mind more quiet. And the goodness of his father and his old kindness cometh unto remembrance, either of his own corage[2], or by the comfort of some other. And he believeth that his father will not cast him away, or destroy him, and hopeth that he will no more do so. And upon that he getteth him home, dismayed, but not altogether faithless. The old kindnesses will not let him despair. Howbeit, all the world cannot set his heart at rest, until the pain be past, and until he have heard the voice of his father, that all is forgiven.

The faithful, though they slip, yet they fall not.

Faith in the goodness of God is our stay.

The manner and order of our election.

Even so goeth it with God's elect. God chooseth them first, and they not God; as thou readest, John xv. And then he sendeth forth and calleth them, and sheweth them his good will, which he beareth unto them, and maketh them see both their own damnation in the law, and also the mercy that is laid up for them in Christ's blood, and thereto what he will have them do. And then, when we see his mercy, we love him again, and choose him, and submit ourselves unto his laws, to walk in them. For when we err not in wit, reason, and judgment of things, we cannot err in will and choice of things. The choice of a man's will doth naturally, and of her own accord, follow the judgment of a man's reason, whether he judge right or wrong: so that in teaching only resteth the pith of a man's living. Howbeit, there be swine that receive no learning but to defile it; and there be dogs, that

John xv.

If we consider how merciful God is unto us, we cannot choose but submit ourselves unto his laws.

[2 See n. to p. 417, Vol. I.]

rent all good learning with their teeth. And there be pope-holy, which, following a righteousness of their own feigning, resist the righteousness of God in Christ. And there be that cannot attend to hearken unto the truth, for rage of lusts, which, when lusts abate, come and obey well enough.

Christian men must be patient.

And therefore a christian man must be patient and suffer long, to win his brother to Christ, that he which attendeth not to day, may receive grace and hear to-morrow. We see some at their very latter end, when cold fear of death hath quenched the heat of their appetites, learn and consent unto the truth; whereunto before they could give none care, for the wild rages of lusts that blinded their wits.

Mercy waiteth ever on the elect. W. T.

And though God's elect cannot so fall that they rise not again, because that the mercy of God ever waiteth upon them, to deliver them from evil, as the care of a kind father waiteth upon his son, to warn him and to keep him from occasions, and to call him back again if he be gone too far; yet they forget themselves oft-times, and sink down into trances, and fall asleep in lusts for a season: but as soon as they be awaked, they repent, and come again without resistance. God now and then withdraweth his hand and leaveth them unto their own strength, to make them feel that there is no power to do good but of God only, lest they should be proud of that which is none of theirs. God laid so sore a

David.

weight of persecution upon David's back, that passed his strength to bear; so that he cried oft out of his psalms, saying, that he had lived well, and followed the right way of God in vain: for the more he kept himself from sin, the worse it went with him, as he thought; and the better with his enemy Saul, the worse he was. Yet God left him not there, but comforted him; and shewed him things which

The elect of God must have patience, and be long sufferers.

before he wist not of, how that the saints must be patient, and abide God's harvest, until the wickedness of ungodly sinners be full ripe, that God may reap it in due season.

God also suffered occasions, stronger than David, to fall upon him, and to carry him clean out of the way. Was he not ready for a churlish answer to have slain Nabal, and all the males of his house, so much as the child in the cradle? Howbeit, God withheld him and kept him back from that evil through the wisdom of Abigail. How long slumbered he,

or rather how hard in sleep was he, in the adultery of Bathsheba, and in the murder of her husband Uriah! But at both times, as soon as he was rebuked, and his fault told him, he repented immediately, and turned again meekly. Now in all that long time, from the adultery of Bathsheba, until the prophet Nathan rebuked him, he had not lost his faith, nor yet his love unto the laws of God, no more than a man loseth his wits when he is asleep: he had forgot himself only, and had not maliciously cast off the yoke of God's commandments from off his neck. There is no man so good, but that there cometh a time upon him, when he feeleth in himself no more faith, or love unto God, than a sick man oft-times feeleth the taste of his meat which he eateth.

God trieth his elect by suffering them to fall into temptation.

We may commit sin, and yet not forget God.

And in like manner the apostles of Christ at his passion were astonished and amazed, and in such a storm of temptations, for the sudden change from so great glory into so vile and shameful death, that they had forgot all the miracles, and all the words which he had told them before, how that he should be betrayed and delivered on the same manner unto death. Moreover, they never understood that saying of his death, because their hearts were alway heavy, and overladen with earthly thoughts. For though they saw him raise up other, yet who should raise him up, when he were dead, they could not comprehend. Read what thou read canst, and thou shalt find no temptation like unto that from the creation of the world, or so great as it, by the hundred part: so that the wonderful sudden change and the terrible sight of his passion, and of his most cruel and most vile death; and the loss of whom they so greatly loved, that their hearts would fain have died with him; and the fear of their own death; and the impossibility that a man should rise again of his own power; so occupied their minds, and so astonished them and amazed them, that they could receive no comfort, either of the scripture, or of the miracles which they had seen Christ do; nor of the monitions and warnings wherewith he had warned them before; neither of the women that brought them tidings that he was risen. The sword of temptations, with fear, sorrow, mourning, and weeping, had deeply pierced their hearts, and the cruel sight had so cumbered their minds, that they could not believe death put off

The apostles, being amazed with temptations, forgat all Christ's miracles.

A great temptation laid upon the apostles.

The apostles were very doubtful.

and overcome, until Christ himself came: yea, and when they first saw him, they were astonished for wondering and joy together, that thoughts arose in their hearts, 'Alas, is this he, or doth some spirit mock us?' He was fain to let them feel him, and to eat with them, to strength their faiths.

Howbeit there was none of them that was fallen in his heart from Christ. For as soon as the women brought word, Peter and John ran into the sepulchre, and saw, and wondered, and would fain have believed that he was risen; and longed for him, but could not believe; the wound of temptation being greater than that it could be healed with the preaching of a woman, without any other miracle. Joseph of Arimathea and Nicodemus, which, while he yet lived, durst not be aknowen of[1] him, as soon as he was dead begged his body, and buried him boldly. And the women, as soon as it was lawful to work, prepared their anointments with all diligence. And the hearts of the disciples, that went to Emmaus, burned in their breasts to hear him spoken of. And Thomas had not forsaken Christ, but could not believe until he saw him; and yet desired and longed to see him, and rejoiced when he saw him, and for joy cried out, "My Lord, my God!" There was none of them that ever railed on him, and came so far forth to say, 'He was a deceiver, and wrought with the devil's craft all this while, and see whereto he is come in the end: we defy[2] him and all his works, false wretch that he was, and his false doctrine also.' And thereto must they have come at the last, when fear, sorrow, and wondering had been past, if they had not been prevented and holp in the mean time.

Christ, his resurrection.

The disciples were not without faith, but yet the same was very doubtful.

Peter's faith failed not.

Yea, and Peter, as soon as he had denied Christ, came to himself immediately, and went out and wept bitterly for sorrow. And thus ye see that Peter's faith failed not, though it were oppressed for a time: so that we need to seek no glosses for the text that Christ said to Peter, how that his faith should not fail.

'Yes, saith M. More, it failed in himself, but was reserved in our lady[3].' But let us see the text and their gloss together.

[1 Acknowledge. See n. 3, p. 465, Vol. I.]

[2 Used as in old French, for distrust.]

[3 "Upon Peter's first confession of the right faith, that Christ was God's Son, our Lord made him his universal vicar, and under him

Christ saith, "Simon, Simon, Satan seeketh you, to sift you as men sift wheat; but I have prayed for thee that thy faith shall not fail: wherefore when thou art come unto thyself again, strengthen thy brethren." Now put this wise gloss thereto; and see how they agree together! 'Simon, Satan seeketh to sift you as wheat, but I have prayed for thee, that my mother's faith shall not fail: wherefore when thou art come to thyself again, according as my prayer hath obtained for thee that my mother's faith shall not fail, strengthen thy brethren.' Now say ye, is not this a proper text, and well framed together? Do ye not think there is as much wit in the head of mad Colins[4], as in the brains of such expositors? Luke xxii. A foolish gloss made by M. More.

Whether the pope and his sect be Christ's church or no. 1.

That the pope and his spirits be not the church, may this wise be proved. He that hath no faith to be saved through Christ, is not of Christ's church. The pope believeth not to be saved through Christ: for he teacheth to trust in holy The pope and his sect are not the church of Christ.

head of his church; and that for his successor he should be the first upon whom, and whose firm confessed faith, he would build his church, and of any that was only man make him the first, and chief head and ruler thereof. Therefore he shewed him that his faith, i.e. to wete the faith by him confessed, should never fail in his church; nor never did it, notwithstanding his denying. For yet stood still the light of faith in our lady; of whom we read in the gospel, continual assistance to her sweetest son, without fleeing or flitting. And in all other we find either fleeing from him, one time or other, or else doubt of his resurrection after his death, his dear mother only except. For the signification and remembrance whereof the church yearly, in the *Tenebræ* lessons, leaveth her candle burning still, when all the remnant, that signifieth his apostles, be one by one put out. And sith his faith that he professed abode in our lady, the promise that God made was, as it seemeth, meant to him but as head of the church." More's Dial., ch. xviii. fol. 143. col. 2.]

[4 The unhappy gentleman whose derangement was thus a matter of notoriety, was burnt for a heretic, about ten years after this mention of him, to revenge some insult against the reigning superstition, which he had perpetrated with a madman's heedlessness of the consequences. An account of the origin of his calamity, and of the offence for which some said that he was so cruelly treated, may be seen in Foxe's Acts and Mon. B. VIII.; and further interesting details, describing the knowledge of the scriptures which he manifested in a lucid interval, may be seen in a letter from R. Hilles, the merchant, to Hen. Bullinger, in the Park. Soc. Orig. Letters, No. cv. pp. 200-1.]

works for the remission of sins and salvation; as in the works of penance, enjoined in vows; in pilgrimage; in chastity; in other men's prayers and holy living; in friars and friars' coats; in saints' merits; and, the significations put out, he teacheth to believe in the deeds of the ceremonies and of the sacrament, ordained at the beginning to preach unto us, and to do us service, and not that we should believe in them and serve them. And a thousand such superstitiousnesses setteth he before us, instead of Christ to believe in; neither Christ nor God's word, neither honourable to God nor serviceable unto our neighbour, nor profitable unto ourselves for the taming of the flesh; which all are the denying of Christ's blood.

2. Another reason is this. Whosoever believeth in Christ, consenteth that God's law is good. The pope consenteth not that God's law is good. For he hath forbidden lawful wedlock unto all his[1], over whom he reigneth as a temporal tyrant with laws of his own making, and not as a brother exhorting them to keep Christ's; and he hath granted unlawful whoredom unto as many as bring money; as through Dutchland every priest, paying a gildren[2] unto the archdeacon, shall freely and quietly have his whore, and put her away at his pleasure, and take another at his own lust[3]; as they do in Wales, in Ireland, Scotland, France, and Spain[4]. And in England, thereto, they

The pope in forbidding marriage to priests doth not consent that the law of God is good.

The pope licenseth whoredom which God forbiddeth.

[1 That is, to the whole body of ecclesiastics, and members of every monastic order.]

[2 C. U. L. ed. has *golden*.]

[3 By Dutchland, Tyndale means Germany; and that licensing of sin, to which he alludes, had formed the ninety-first article in the list of a hundred grievances transmitted to pope Adrian IV. from the diet of Nuremberg, not more than eight years before Tyndale's composing this answer. These "Centum gravamina nationis Germanicæ" were published in 4to. at Nuremberg, 1523; and may be seen in Brown's *Fasciculus rerum expetend.* Lond. 1690. fol.; where the words of Gravam. xci. are: Item in locis plerisque episcopi et eorum officiales non solum tolerant concubinatum dummodo certa persolvatur pecunia, sed et sacerdotes continentes, et qui absque concubinis degunt, concubinatus censum persolvere cogunt, asserentes episcopum pecuniæ indigum esse, qua soluta licere sacerdotibus ut vel cœlibes permaneant, vel concubinas alant.—Foxe has given a translation of this and of several other of these gravamina in Acts and Mon. B. VI. Vol. iv. p. 308, &c. Lond. 1837.]

[4 In one of those national ecclesiastical councils held at Toledo, by which Spain was in a manner governed at that period, canon xvii.

be not few which have licences to keep whores, some of the pope, and some of their ordinaries; and when the parishens go to law with them, to put away their whores, the bishop's officers mock them, poll them, and make them spend their thrifts, and the priests keep their whores still. Howbeit, in very deed, since they were rebuked by the preaching of Wicliffe, our English spiritualty have laid their snares unto men's wives, to cover their abominations, though they bide not alway secret.

3. The popish clergy are persecutors.

Thereto all christian men, if they have done amiss, repent when their faults be told them. The spiritualty repent not; but, of very lust and consent to sin, persecute both the scripture wherewith they be rebuked, and also them that warn them to amend, and make heretics of them and burn them.

An abominable, wicked, and devilish decree.

And besides that, the pope hath made a plain decree, in which he commandeth, saying, "Though the pope sin never so grievously, and draw with him to hell by his ensample thousands innumerable, yet let no man be so hardy to rebuke him. For he is head over all; and none over him." *Distinct.* xl. *Si Papa*[5].

4. Rom. xiii.

And Paul saith, (Rom. xiii.) "Let every soul obey the higher powers," that are ordained to punish sin. The pope will not, nor let any of his.

is thus given by Basnage: Qui junctus matrimonio concubinam habet communione privatur. Qui caret uxore, si una concubina contentus est, sacramento non repellitur. (Annal. Polit. Eccles. Tom. III. p. 180. col. 2. under date of A.D. 400.) Upon this authority Gratian proceeded somewhat farther; making the papal law speak as follows, in Dist. xxxiv. ca. Omnibus: Concubina autem hic intelligitur quæ cessantibus legalibus instrumentis unica est: et conjugali affectu nanciscitur: hanc conjugem facit affectus: concubinam vero lex nominat. De hac dicitur in concilio Toletano, *Qui non habet uxorem loco illius concubinam debet habere.* Is qui non habet uxorem, et pro uxore concubinam habet, a communione non repellatur: tamen ut unius mulieris, aut uxoris aut concubinæ sit conjunctione contentus.—The words in italics are in red ink, and form the heading to the subjoined canon *Is qui*, in Thielman Kerver's edition of the Corpus Juris Canonici, dated 1516. But in editions subsequent to the reformation, as that of Lyons, 1622, *unica* has been altered into *unita*, and the scandalous heading has been tacitly suppressed; the words *Qui non habet uxorem sed loco illius concubinam, a communione non repellitur*, being substituted.]

[5 See Vol. I. p. 328, n. 3, for this canon.]

5. 1 Cor. v.

And Paul chargeth (1 Cor. v.): "If he that is a brother be an whore-keeper, a drunkard, covetous, an extortioner, or a railer," and so forth, that we "have no fellowship with him; no, not so much as to eat in his company." But the pope with violence compelleth us to have such in honour, to receive the sacraments of them, to hear their masses, and to believe all they say; and yet they will not let us see whether they say truth or no. And he compelleth ten parishes to pay their tithes and offerings unto one such, to go and run at riot at their cost, and to do nought therefor. And a thousand such like doth the pope, contrary unto Christ's doctrine.

The pope is utterly against the doctrine of Christ.

The arguments wherewith the pope would prove himself the church are solved.

Notwithstanding because, as they be all shaven, they be all shameless to affirm that they be the right church and cannot err, though all the world seeth that not one of them is in the right way, and that they have with utter defiance forsaken both the doctrine and living of Christ and of all his apostles; let us see the sophistry wherewith they would persuade it. One of their high reasons is this: The church, say they, was before the heretics; and the heretics came ever out of the church, and left it. And they were before all them which they now call heretics and Lutherans, and the Lutherans came out of them, &c. Wherefore they be the right church, and the other heretics indeed, as they be called[1]. Well, I will likewise dispute. First, the right church was under Moses and Aaron, and so forth; in whose rooms sat the scribes and Pharisees and high priests in the time of Christ. And they were before Christ. And Christ and his apostles came out of them, and departed from them, and left them. Wherefore the scribes, Pharisees, and high priests were the right church; and Christ, and his apostles and disciples, heretics, and a damnable sect! And so the Jews are yet in the right way, and we in error. And of truth, if their blind reason be good, then is this argument so too: for they be like, and are both one thing.

Their first reason.

A like reason.

One argument confuted with another of like nature.

[1 The heading of ch. II. B. II. of More's Dial. is, "The author sheweth that no sect of such as the church taketh for heretics can be the church; forasmuch as the church was before all them, as the tree from which all those withered branches be fallen."]

But inasmuch as "the kingdom of God standeth not in words," as Paul saith, "but in power;" therefore look unto the marrow and pith of the thing's self, and let vain words pass. Under Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob was the church great in faith, and small in number. And as it increased in number, so it decreased in faith, until the time of Moses. And out of those unbelievers God stirred up Moses, and brought them unto the faith right again. And Moses left a glorious church, both in faith and the cleaving unto the word of God; and delivered them unto Joshua, Eleazar, Phineas, and Caleb. The solution. 1 Cor. iv.

But as soon as the generation of them that saw the miracles of God were dead, they fell to idolatry immediately; as thou seest in the bible. And God, when he had delivered them into captivity for to chastise their wickedness, stirred them up a prophet evermore, to call them unto his testament again. And so he did well nigh an hundred times, I suppose, ere Christ came; for they never bode any space in the right faith. And against the coming of Christ, the scribes, Pharisees, Caiphas, Annas, and the elders, were crept up into the seat of Moses, Aaron, and the holy prophets and patriarchs, and succeeded them lineally, and had the scripture of God; but even in captivity, to make merchandise of it, and to abuse it unto their own glory and profit. And though they kept the people from outward idolatry of worshipping of images with the heathen, yet they brought them into a worse inward idolatry, of a false faith and trust in their own deeds, and in vain traditions of their own feigning; and had put out the significations of all the ceremonies and sacraments of the old Testament; and taught the people to believe in the work's self, and had corrupted the scripture with false glosses: as thou mayest see in the gospel, how Christ warneth his disciples to beware of the leaven of the Pharisees, which was their false doctrine and glosses. And in another place he rebuked the scribes and the Pharisees, saying: "Wo be to them," because they had taken away the key of knowledge, and had shut up the kingdom of heaven, and neither would enter in themselves nor suffer them that would. How had they shut it up? Verily with their traditions and false glosses; which they had sewed to the scripture in plain places; and in the taking away the meaning of the ceremonies and sacrifices, and teaching to believe in the work.

The right faith did never long continue in the greater number of the church.

Matt. xvi.

Matt. xxiii.

Hypocrites are crept up into the seat of Christ and his apostles.

And our hypocrites are in like manner crept up into the seat of Christ and of his apostles, by succession; not to do the deeds of Christ and his apostles, but for lucre only, (as the nature of the wily fox is, to get him an hole made with another beast's labour,) and to make merchandise of the people with feigned words, as Peter warned us before; and to do according as Christ and all his apostles prophesied, how they should beguile, and lead out of the right way, all them that had no love to follow and live after the truth.

2 Pet. ii.

The pope and his clergy have corrupted the scriptures of God with their traditions.

And in like manner have they corrupt the scripture, and blinded the right way with their own constitutions, with traditions of dumb ceremonies; with taking away the significations of the sacraments, to make us believe in the work of the sacraments first, whereby they might the better make us believe in works of their setting up afterward; and with false glosses which they have patched to the scripture in plain places, to destroy the literal sense, for to set up a false feigned sense of allegories, when there is none such. And thereby they have stopt up the gates of heaven, the true knowledge of Christ, and have made their own bellies the door. For through their bellies must thou creep, and there leave all that[1] fall behind thee.

John vii. viii.

And such blind reasons as ours make against us, made they against Christ, saying, Abraham is our father; we be Moses' disciples: how knoweth he the understanding of the scripture, seeing he never learned of any of us? Only the cursed, unlearned people, that know not the scripture, believe in him. Look whether any of the rulers or Pharisees do believe in him!

The scriptures bear witness who are the right church.

Wherefore, the scripture truly understood, after the plain places and general articles of the faith, which thou findest in the scripture, and the ensamples that are gone before, will alway testify who is the right church. Though the Pharisees succeeded the patriarchs and prophets, and had the scripture of them; yet they were heretics, and fallen from the faith of them and from their living. And Christ and his disciples, and John the Baptist, departed from the Pharisees, which were heretics, unto the right sense of the scripture, and unto the faith and living of the patriarchs and prophets, and rebuked the Pharisees: as thou seest how Christ calleth them hypo-

Christ.

John Baptist.

[1 C. U. L. ed. has *thy*.]

crites, dissimulers, blind guides, and painted sepulchres. And John called them the generation of vipers and serpents. Of John the angel said unto his father, "He shall turn many of the children of Israel unto their Lord God;" which yet, before John, believed after a fleshly understanding in God, and thought themselves in the right way. And, "He shall turn the hearts of the fathers unto the children:" that is, he shall, with his preaching and true interpreting of the scripture, make such a spiritual heart in the children, as was in their fathers, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. And, "He shall turn the disobedient unto the obedience of the righteous, and prepare the Lord a perfect people:" that is, them that had set up a righteousness of their own, and were therefore disobedient unto the righteousness of faith, shall he convert from their blindness unto the wisdom of them that believed in God, to be made righteous; and with those fathers shall he give the children eagles' eyes, to spy out Christ and his righteousness, and to forsake their own, and so to become perfect.

Luke i.

The doctrine of John brought the heart of the Jews unto the right way.

And after the same manner, though our popish hypocrites succeed Christ and his apostles, and have their scripture, yet they be fallen from the faith and living of them, and are heretics, and had need of a John Baptist to convert them. And we depart from them unto the true scripture, and unto the faith and living thereof, and rebuke them in like manner. And as they which depart from the faith of the true church are heretics, even so they that depart from the church of heretics and false feigned faith of hypocrites, are the true church; which thou shalt alway know by their faith, examined by the scripture, and by their profession and consent to live according unto the laws of God.

Our popish hypocrites have need of a John Baptist, to convert them.

Those which depart from the faith of hypocrites are the true church.

Another argument.

Another like blind reason they have, wherein is all their trust. As we come out of them and they not of us, so we receive the scripture of them, and they not of us. How know we that it is the scripture of God, and true, but because they teach us so? How can we believe, except we first believe that they be the church, and cannot err in any thing that pertaineth unto our soul's health? For if a man tell me of a marvellous thing, whereof I can have no other knowledge than by

Their second reason.

Note here this popish argument.

his mouth only; how should I give credence, except I believe that the man were so honest that he could not lie, or would not lie? Wherefore, we must believe that they be the right church that cannot err, or else we can believe nought at all[1].

This wise reason is their shot anchor, and all their hold, their refuge to fly unto, and chief stone in their foundation; whereon they have built all their lies, and all their mischief that they have wrought this eight hundred years. And this reason do the Jews lay unto our charge this day; and this reason doth chiefly blind them, and hold them still in obstinacy. Our spirits first falsify the scripture to stablish their lies; and when the scripture cometh to light, and is restored unto the true understanding, and their juggling spied, and they like to suffer shipwreck, then they cast out this anchor: They be the church and cannot err; their authority is greater than the scripture; and the scripture is not true, but because they say so and admit it. And therefore, whatsoever they affirm, is of as great authority as the scripture.

The pope and his sect say they are the church, and cannot err.

Notwithstanding, as I said, the kingdom of heaven standeth not in words of man's wisdom, but in power and spirit. And therefore look unto the examples of the scripture, and so shalt thou understand. And of an hundred examples between Moses and Christ, where the Israelites fell from God, and were ever restored by one prophet or other, let us take one, even John the Baptist. John went before Christ to prepare his way, that is, to bring men unto the knowledge of their sins, and unto repentance, through true expounding of the law, which is the only way unto Christ: for except a man knowledge his sins, and repent of them, he can have no part in Christ. Of John Christ saith (Matt. xvii.), that "he was Elias that should come, and restore all things:" that is,

The solution W. T.

John Baptist was a true expositor of the law.

Matt. xvii.

[1 "Finally, to put out of question which is Christ's very church, sith it is agreed between us, and granted through Christendom, and a conclusion very true, that by the church we know the scripture, which church is that by which we know the scripture? Is it not this company and congregation of all these nations, that without factions taken, and precision from the remnant, profess the name and faith of Christ? By this church know we the scripture, and this is the very church; and this hath begun at Christ, and hath had him for their head, and St Peter his vicar after him, the head under him, and alway since the successors of him continually."—More's Dialogue, B. II. ch. v. p. 185. col. 2.]

he should restore the scripture unto the right sense again; which the Pharisees had corrupted with the leaven of their false glosses, and vain fleshly traditions. He made crooked things straight, as it is written, and rough smooth. Which is also to be understood of the scripture, which the Pharisees had made crooked, wresting them unto a false sense with wicked glosses; and so rough that no man could walk in the way of them. For when God said, "Honour father and mother," meaning, that we should obey them, and also help them at their need, the Pharisees put this gloss thereto, out of their own leaven, saying: 'God is thy father and mother. Wherefore, whatsoever need thy father and mother have, if thou offer to God, thou art held excused. For it is better to offer to God, than to thy father and mother; and so much more meritorious, as God is greater than they: yea, and God hath done more for thee than they, and is more thy father and mother than they.' As ours now affirm, 'That it is more meritorious to offer to God and his holy dead saints, than unto the poor living saints.' And when God had promised the people a Saviour, to come and bless them, and save them from their sins; the Pharisees taught to believe in holy works to be saved by, as, if they offered and gave to be prayed for: as ours, as oft as we have a promise to be forgiven at the repentance of the heart through Christ's blood-shedding, put to, 'Thou must first shrive thyself to us of every syllable, and we must lay our hands on thine head, and whistle out thy sins, and enjoin thee penance to make satisfaction. And yet art thou but loosed from the sin only that thou shalt not come into hell; but thou must yet suffer for every sin seven years in purgatory, which is as hot as hell, except thou buy it out of the pope.' And if thou ask, 'By what means the pope giveth such pardon?' they answer, 'Out of the merits of Christ.' And thus at the last they grant, against themselves, that Christ hath not only deserved for us the remission of our sins, but also the forgiveness of that gross and fleshly imagined purgatory, save thou must buy it out of the pope. And with such traditions they took away the key of knowledge, and stopped up the kingdom of heaven, that no man could enter in.

The Pharisees added false glosses to the scripture.

The papistical doctrine.

Purgatory.

And as I said, they taught the people to believe in the deeds of the ceremonies, which God ordained, not to justify,

The Pharisees and papists agree in the

false interpreting of the scriptures.

but to be signs of promises, by which they that believed were justified. But the Pharisees put out the significations, and quenched the faith, and taught to be justified by the work, as ours have served us.

The sacraments are signs to faith.

For our sacraments were once but signs; partly of what we should believe, to stir us up unto faith; and partly what we should do, to stir us up to do the law of God; and were not works to justify.

The pope will by his reason make Christ and all his apostles heretics.

Now make this reason unto John, and unto many prophets that went before him and did as he did; yea, and unto Christ himself and his apostles; and thou shalt find them all heretics, and the scribes and Pharisees good men, if that reason be good. Therefore, this-wise thou mayest answer. No thanks unto the heads of the church, that the scripture was kept, but unto the mercy of God. For as they had destroyed the right sense of it, for their lucre sake, even so would they have destroyed it also, if they could, rather than the people should have come unto the right understanding of it; as they slew the true interpreters and preachers of it. And even so, no thanks unto our hypocrites, that the scripture is kept, but unto the bottomless mercy of God.

The pope and his sect would (if they could) destroy the scripture; as well as they destroy the preachers thereof.

For as they have destroyed the right sense of it with their leaven; and as they destroy daily the true preachers of it; and as they keep it from the lay-people, that they should not see how they juggle with it; even so would they destroy it also, could they bring it about, rather than we should come by the true understanding of it, were it not that God provided otherwise for us. For they have put the stories, that should in many things help us, clean out of the way, as nigh as they could. They have corrupt the legend and lives almost of all saints. They have feigned false books, and put them forth; some in the name of St Jerome, some in the name of St Augustine, in the name of St Cyprian, St Dionyse, and other holy men; which are proved none of theirs, partly by the style and Latin, and partly by authentic stories. And as the Talmud. Jews have set up a book of traditions called Talmud, to destroy the sense of the scripture; unto which they give faith, and unto the scripture none at all, be it never so plain, but say it cannot be understood, save by the Talmud: even so have ours Duns. set up their Duns, their Thomas, and a thousand like draff, to stablish their lies through falsifying the scripture; and say

that it cannot be understood without them, be it never so plain. And if a man allege an holy doctor against them, they glose him out as they do the scripture; or will not hear; or say the church hath otherwise determined.

Question answered. A good answer to be made to the papists.

Now therefore, when they ask us how we know it is the scripture of God; ask them how John Baptist knew, and other prophets, which God stirred up in all such times as the scripture was in like captivity under hypocrites? Did John believe that the scribes, Pharisees, and high priests, were the true church of God, and had his Spirit, and could not err? Who taught the eagles to spy out their prey? Even so the children of God spy out their Father; and Christ's elect spy out their Lord, and trace out the paths of his feet, and follow; yea, though he go upon the plain and liquid water, which will receive no step, and yet there they find out his foot: his elect know him, but the world knoweth him not (John i.). If the world know him not, and thou call the world pride, wrath, envy, covetousness, sloth, gluttony, and lechery, then our spiritualty know him not. Christ's sheep hear the voice of Christ (John x.); where the world of hypocrites, as they know him not, even so the wolves hear not his voice, but compel the scripture to hear them, and to speak what they lust. And therefore, except the Lord of sabaoth had left us seed, we had been all as Sodom and Gomorrah, said Esay in his first chapter. And even so said Paul in his time. And even so say we in our time, that the Lord of the hosts hath saved him seed, and hath gathered him a flock, to whom he hath given ears to hear that the hypocritish wolves cannot hear, and eyes to see that the blind leaders of the blind cannot see, and an heart to understand that the generation of poisoned vipers can neither understand nor know.

John i. John x. Isaiah i. Rom. ix.

Augustinus.

If they allege St Augustine, which saith, "I had not believed the gospel, except the authority of the church had moved me[1]:" I answer, as they abuse that saying of the holy

[1] This expression occurs in a controversial treatise, which Augustine wrote to expose the folly of the Manichæans, in giving faith to what they called *Epistola Fundamenti*, which began as follows: Manichæus, apostolus Jesu Christi providentia Dei Patris. Hæc sunt salubria verba, de perenni ac vivo fonte. And Augustine, having transcribed these words, says, Non credo istum esse apostolum Christi. Quæso ne succenseatis, et maledicere incipiatis. Nostis enim me statuisse

The true meaning of the words of St Augustine.

man, even so they allege all the scripture, and all that they bring for them, even in a false sense. St Augustine, before he was converted, was an heathen man, and a philosopher, full of worldly wisdom, unto whom the preaching of Christ is

1 Cor. i.

but foolishness, saith Paul (1 Cor. i.). And he disputed with blind reasons of worldly wisdom against the Christen. Nevertheless, the earnest living of the Christen, according unto their doctrine, and the constant suffering of persecution and adversity for their doctrine's sake, moved him, and stirred him to believe that it was no vain doctrine; but that it must needs be of God, in that it had such power with it. For it happeneth that they which will not hear the word at the beginning, are afterward moved by the holy conversation of them that believe: as Peter warneth christian wives that

1 Pet. iii.

had heathen husbands, that would not hear the truth preached, to live so godly that they might win their heathen husbands

1 Cor. vii.

with holy conversation. And Paul saith, "How knowest thou, christian wife, whether thou shalt win thine heathen husband?" With holy conversation, meant he: for many are won with godly living, which at the first either will not hear, or cannot believe. And that is the authority that St Augustine meant. But if we shall not believe till the living of the spiritualty convert us, we be like to bide long enough in unbelief.

And when they ask, whether we received the scripture of them? I answer, 'That they which come after receive the scripture of them that go before.' And when they ask, 'Whether we believe not that it is God's word, by the reason

There are two manner of faiths.

that they tell us so?' I answer, 'That there are two manner faiths, an historical faith, and a feeling faith.' The

An historical faith.

historical faith hangeth of the truth and honesty of the teller, or of the common fame and consent of many: as if one told

nihil a vobis prolatum temere credere. Quæro ergo qui sit iste Manichæus? Respondebitis, apostolus Christi. Non credo. Quid jam dicas aut facias, non habebis; promittebas enim scientiam veritatis, et nunc quod nescio cogis ut credam. Evangelium mihi fortasse lecturus es, et inde Manichæi personam tentabis asserere. Si ergo invenires aliquem, qui evangelio nondum credit, quid faceres dicenti tibi, Non credo? Ego vero evangelio non crederem, nisi me catholicæ ecclesiæ commoveret auctoritas. Quibus ergo obtemperavi dicentibus, Credo evangelio; cur eis non obtemperem dicentibus mihi, Noli credere Manichæis? Elige quid velis.—Aug. Op. Tom. VIII. col. 153. E. Lib. I. cap. 5. Contra epist. Manichæi quam Fund. vocant.]

me that the Turk had won a city, and I believed it, moved with the honesty of the man; now if there come another that seemeth more honest, or that hath better persuasions that it is not so, I think immediately that he lied, and lose my faith again. And a feeling faith is as if a man were there present when it was won, and there were wounded, and had there lost all that he had, and were taken prisoner there also: that man should so believe, that all the world could not turn him from his faith. Then, even likewise, if my mother had blown on her finger, and told me that the fire would burn me, I should have believed her with an historical faith, as we believe the stories of the world, because I thought she would not have mocked me. And so I should have done, if she had told me that the fire had been cold, and would not have burned; but as soon as I had put my finger in the fire, I should have believed, not by the reason of her, but with a feeling faith, so that she could not have persuaded me afterward the contrary. So now with an historical faith I may believe that the scripture is God's, by the teaching of them; and so I should have done, though they had told me that Robin Hood had been the scripture of God: which faith is but an opinion, and therefore abideth ever fruitless; and falleth away, if a more glorious reason be made unto me, or if the preacher live contrary.

A feeling faith.

But of a feeling faith it is written (John vi.), "They shall be all taught of God." That is, God shall write it in their hearts with his Holy Spirit. And Paul also testifieth (Rom. viii.), "The Spirit beareth record unto our spirit, that we be the sons of God." And this faith is none opinion; but a sure feeling, and therefore ever fruitful. Neither hangeth it of the honesty of the preacher, but of the power of God, and of the Spirit: and, therefore, if all the preachers of the world would go about to persuade the contrary, it would not prevail; no more than though they would make me believe the fire were cold, after that I had put my finger therein. Of this we have an ensample (John iv.) of the Samaritanish wife, which left her pitcher, and went into the city, and said, "Come, and see a man that hath told me all that ever I did. Is not he Christ?" And many of the Samaritans believed, because of the saying of the woman, how that he had told her all that ever she did; and went out unto him, and

John vi.

Rom. viii.

The true and sure feeling faith.

John iv.

desired him to come in. Which faith was but an opinion; and no faith that could have lasted, or have brought out fruit. But when they had heard Christ, the Spirit wrought, and made them feel. Whereupon they came unto the woman, and said: "We believe not now because of thy saying, but because we have heard ourselves, and know that he is Christ, the Saviour of the world." For Christ's preaching was with power and spirit, that maketh a man feel, and know and work too; and not as the scribes and Pharisees preached; and as ours make a man ready to cast his gorge, to hear them rave and rage as mad men. And therefore, saith the scripture, "Cursed is he that trusteth in man, and maketh flesh his arm;" that is to say, his strength. And even so, Cursed is he that hath none other belief, but because men say so. Cursed were he that had none other why to believe than that I so say. And even so cursed is he that believeth only because the pope so saith; and so forth throughout all the men in the world.

The feeling faith doth far excel the historical faith.

Cursed is he that trusteth in man.

The faith that dependeth of another man's mouth is weak.

If I have none other feeling in my faith than because a man so saith, then is my faith faithless and fruitless. For if I have none other feeling that lechery is sin than that the pope so preacheth, whom I see before my face set up in Rome a stews of twenty or thirty thousand whores, taking of every piece tribute yearly; and his bishops with all other his disciples following the ensample mightily; and the pope therewith not content, but to set up thereto a stews of young boys, against nature, the committers of which sin be burnt at a stake among the Turks, as Moses also commandeth in his law; and the pope also to forbid all the spiritualty, a multitude of forty or fifty hundred thousand, to marry, and to give them licence to keep every man his whore, who so will: if, I say, I have none other feeling in my faith, that lechery is sin, than this man's preaching, I think my faith should be too weak to bear much fruit. How could I believe a man that would say he loved me, if all his deeds were contrary? I could not believe God himself, that he loved me, if in all my tribulations I had of him none other comfort than those bare words.

Lechery.

The abomination of the Romish church.

Marriage forbidden, and whoredom allowed.

And in like manner, if I had none other feeling in my faith that covetousness were sin, than that the spiritualty so saith, my faith could be but weak and fainty, when I see how the pope with wiles hath thrust down the emperor; and how the bishops and prelates be crept up on high, in all regions, above their kings; and have made them a several kingdom, and have gotten into their hands almost the one half of every realm, which they divide among themselves, giving no layman any part with them; and heaping up bishoprick upon bishoprick, promotion upon promotion, benefice upon benefice, with unions and tot-quots, robbing in every parish the souls of their food, and the poor of their due sustenance; yea, and some preaching that it were less sin to have two wives than two benefices, but while they be yet young and hot, and therefore think covetousness greater sin than lechery; which same, when they be waxed elder, and their complexion somewhat altered, think that covetousness is as small a sin as lechery, and therefore take all that cometh; and if any man cast their preaching in their teeth, they answer that they be better learned, and have seen farther: if, I say, I have no other feeling that covetousness is sin than the preaching of these holy fathers, my faith were built but upon a weak rock, or rather on the soft sand. And therefore our defenders do right well to foam out their own shame, and to utter the secret thoughts of their hearts. For as they write, so they believe. Other feeling of the laws of God and faith of Christ have they none, than that their God the pope so saith. And therefore as the pope preacheth with his mouth only, even so believe they with their mouth only whatsoever he preacheth, without more ado, be it never so abominable; and in their hearts consent unto all their father's wickedness, and follow him in their deeds as fast as they can run.

Covetousness. W. T.

Unions, tot-quots. W. T.

The papists think lechery nor covetousness to be any sin.

As the pope teacheth with the mouth only, so the papists believe with their mouth only.

The Turks, being in number five times more than we are, knowledge one God, and believe many things of God, moved only by the authority of their elders; and presume that God will not let so great a multitude err so long time: and yet they have erred and been faithless these eight hundred years. And the Jews believe this day as much as the carnal sort of them ever believed, moved also by the authority of their elders only; and think that it is impossible for them to err, being Abraham's seed, and the children of them to

Turks.

Jews.

The Turks and Jews believe that they cannot

err, because they believe as their elders did.

whom the promises, of all that we believe, were made: and yet they have erred, and been faithless, these fifteen hundred years. And we, of like blindness, believe only by the authority of our elders; and, of like pride, think that we cannot err, being such a multitude. And yet we see how God, in the old Testament, did let the great multitude err; reserving alway a little flock, to call the other back again, and to testify unto them the right way.

God reserved a little flock.

How this word *church* hath a double interpretation.

Rom. ix.

This is therefore a sure conclusion as Paul saith, (Rom. ix.) that "not all they that are of Israel are Israelites; neither because they be Abraham's seed, are they all Abraham's children," but they only that follow the faith of Abraham. Even so now none of them that believe with their mouths, moved with the authority of their elders only, that is, none of them that believe with master More's faith, the pope's faith, and the devil's faith, which may stand (as master More confesseth) with all manner abominations, have the right faith of Christ, or are of his church; but they only that repent, and feel that the law is good, and have the law of God written in their hearts, and the faith of our Saviour Jesus, even with the Spirit of God. There is a carnal Irsael, and a spiritual. There is Isaac and Ishmael; Jacob and Esau. And Ishmael persecuted Isaac, and Esau Jacob, and the fleshly the spiritual: whereof Paul complained in his time, persecuted of his carnal brethren; as we do, in our time, and as the elect ever did, and shall do till the world's end. What a multitude came out of Egypt under Moses! of which the scripture testifieth that they believed, moved by the miracles of Moses; as Simon Magus believed by the reason of Philip's miracles, (Acts viii.). Nevertheless, the scripture testifieth that six hundred thousand of those believers perished through unbelief; and left their carcases in the wilderness, and never entered into the land that was promised them. And even so shall the children of master More's faithless faith, made by the persuasion of man, leap short of the rest which our Saviour Jesus Christ is risen unto. And therefore let them embrace this present world, as they do, whose children they are, though they hate so to be called.

Who they be, that are of God's true church.

The fleshly persecute the spiritual.

Acts viii.

The children of this world are the papists.

And hereby ye see that it is a plain and an evident conclusion, as bright as the sun's shining, that the truth of God's word dependeth not of the truth of the congregation. And therefore, when thou art asked why thou believest that thou shalt be saved through Christ, and of such like principles of our faith; answer, Thou wottest and feelest that it is true. And when he asketh, How thou knowest that it is true; answer, Because it is written in thine heart. And if he ask who wrote it; answer, The Spirit of God. And if he ask how thou camest first by it; tell him whether by reading in books, or hearing it preached, as by an outward instrument, but that inwardly thou wast taught by the Spirit of God. And if he ask whether thou believest it not because it is written in books, or because the priests so preach; answer, No, not now; but only because it is written in thine heart; and because the Spirit of God so preacheth, and so testifieth unto thy soul: and say, though at the beginning thou wast moved by reading or preaching, as the Samaritans were by the words of the woman, yet now thou believest it not therefore any longer; but only because thou hast heard it of the Spirit of God, and read it written in thine heart.

Questions.

Answers.

Answers to be made to captious papists.

John iv.

And concerning outward teaching, we allege for us scripture, older than any church that was this fourteen hundred years, and old authentic stories which they had brought asleep, wherewith we confound their lies. Remember ye not how in our own time, of all that taught grammar in England, not one understood the Latin tongue? How came we then by the Latin tongue again? Not by them, though we learned certain rules and principles of them, by which we were moved and had an occasion to seek further; but out of the old authors. Even so we seek up old antiquities, out of which we learn, and not of our church; though we received many principles of our church at the beginning, but more falsehood among[1] than truth.

Teachers of grammar understood not the Latin tongue.

It hath pleased God of his exceeding love (wherewith he loved us in Christ, as Paul saith, before the world was made, and when we were dead in sin, and his enemies, in that we did consent to sin, and to live evil) to write with his Spirit two conclusions in our hearts, by which we understand all things; that is to wit, the faith of Christ, and the love of our

The faith in Christ, and love of our neighbours, is all that is required of a christian man.

[1 So C. U. L. ed. but D. omits *among*.]

neighbours. For whosoever feeleth the just damnation of sin, and the forgiveness and mercy that is in Christ's blood for all that repent and forsake it, and come and believe in that mercy, the same only knoweth how God is to be honoured and worshipped, and can judge between true serving of God in the spirit, and false image-serving of God with works.

The use of signs and ceremonies.

And the same knoweth that sacraments, signs, ceremonies, and bodily things can be no service to God in his person; but memorials unto men, and a remembrance of the testament, wherewith God is served in the spirit. And he that feeleth not that, is blind in his soul, and of our holy father's generation, and maketh God an image, and a creature, and worshippeth him with bodily service. And on the other side, he that loveth his neighbour as himself, understandeth all laws, and can judge between good and evil, right and wrong, godly and ungodly, in all conversation, deeds, laws, bargains, covenants, ordinances, and decrees of men; and knoweth the office of every degree, and the due honour of every person And he that hath not that written in his heart, is popish, and of the spiritualty; which understandeth nothing save his own honour, his own profit, and what is good for himself only; and, when he is as he would be, thinketh that all the world is as it should be.

Of worshipping, and what is to be understood by the word.

Worshipping and honouring are both one.

Concerning worshipping or honouring (which two terms are both one) M. More bringeth forth a difference, a distinction or division of Greek words, feigned of our schoolmen, which of late neither understood Greek, Latin, nor Hebrew, called *doulia*, *hyperdoulia*, and *latria*[1]. But the difference

[1 "Though men kneel to saints and images, and incense them also, yet it is not true that therefore they worship them in every point like unto God. What point lack they, quoth he? Marry, the chief of all, quoth I: that is, that they worship God with the mind that he is God; which mind, in worship, is the only thing that maketh it latria. For if the lowly manner of bodily observance were the thing that would make latria, then were we in much peril of idolatry in our courtesy both to princes, prelates, and popes, to whom we kneel as low as to God Almighty, and kiss some their hands and some our own, or ever we presume to touch them, and in the pope his foot." More's Dialogue, B. II. ch. xi. p. 196. col. 1.]

declareth he not, nor the properties of the words; but with confused terms leadeth you blindfold in his maze. As for *hyperdoulia,* I would fain wete where he readeth of it in all the scripture, and whether the worship done to his lord the cardinal's hat were *doulia, hyperdoulia,* or *idololatria ?* And as for *doulia* and *latria,* we find them both referred unto God in a thousand places[2].

Therefore, that thou be not beguiled with falsehood of sophistical words, understand that the words which the scripture useth, in the worshipping or honouring of God, are these: Love God, cleave to God, dread, serve, bow, pray and call on God, believe and trust in God, and such like: which words all we use in the worshipping of man also, howbeit diversely; and the difference thereof doth all the scripture teach. The true words that express the honour of God.

God hath created us and made us unto his own likeness; and our Saviour Christ hath bought us with his blood. And therefore are we God's possession, of duty and right; and Christ's servants only, to wait on his will and pleasure, and ought therefore to move neither hand nor foot, nor any other member, either heart or mind, otherwise than he hath appointed. What it is to honour God. W. T.

God is honoured in his own person, when we receive all things, both good and bad, at his hand; and love his law with all our hearts; and believe, hope, and long for all that he promiseth. The true honour of God.

The officers that rule the world in God's stead, as father, mother, master, husband, lord and prince, are honoured, when the law, which Almighty God hath committed unto them to rule with, is obeyed. What it is to honour rulers. W. T.

Thy neighbour that is out of office is honoured, when thou (as God hath commanded thee) lovest him as thyself, countest him as good as thyself, thinkest him as worthy of any thing as thyself, and comest lovingly to help him at all his need, as thou wouldest be holp thyself; because God hath made him like unto his own image, as well as thee, and Christ hath bought him as well as thee. What it is to honour a man's neighbour. W. T.

If I hate the law, so I break it in mine heart; and both hate and dishonour God, the maker thereof. If I break it What it is to dishonour God, Christ,

[2 That *doulia* sometimes means the service due to God may be clearly seen from a single text, viz. 1 Thess. i. 9: and that *latria* is not exclusively appropriated as a name for service done to God, may be as clearly seen by inspection of a single text, viz. Deut. xxviii. 48, in the LXX.]

a ruler, or a man's neighbour. W. T.

outwardly, then I dishonour God before the world, and the officer that ministereth it. If I hurt my neighbour, then I dishonour my neighbour and him that made him, and him also that bought him with his blood. And even so, if I hate my neighbour in mine heart, then I hate him that commandeth me to love him, and him that hath deserved that I should at the least way for his sake love him. If I be not ready to help my neighbour at his need, so I take his due honour from him, and dishonour him, and him that made him, and him also that bought him with his blood, whose servant he is. If I love such things as God hath lent me, and committed unto mine administration, so that I cannot find in mine heart to bestow them on the uses which God hath appointed me, then I dishonour God and abuse his creature, in that I give more honour unto it than I should do; and then I make an idol of it, in that I love it more than God and his commandment; and then I dishonour my neighbour, from whose need I withdraw it.

To deny to help my neighbour is to dishonour him.

In like manner, if the officer, abusing his power, compel the subject to do that which God forbiddeth, or to leave undone that which God commandeth, so he dishonoureth God in withdrawing his servant from him, and maketh an idol of his own lusts, in that he honoureth them above God; and he dishonoureth his brother in that he abuseth him, contrary unto the right use which God hath created him for, and Christ hath bought him for, which is to wait on God's commandments. For if the officer be otherwise minded than this, the worst of these subjects is made by the hands of him that made me, and bought with the blood of him that bought me, and therefore, my brother; and I but his servant only, to defend him, and to keep him in the honour that God and Christ hath set him, that no man dishonoureth him: he dishonoureth both God and man. And thereto, if any subject think any otherwise of the officer (though he be an emperor) than that he is but a servant only, to minister the office indifferently, he dishonoureth the office, and God that ordained it. So that all men, whatsoever degree they be of, are every man in his room[1] servants to other, as the hand serveth the foot, and every member one another. And the angels of heaven are also our brethren, and very servants for Christ's sake, to defend us from the power of the devils.

To do that God forbiddeth is to dishonour God.

A true officer in the sight of God.

[1 Place, or office.]

And finally, all other creatures, that are neither angels nor man, are in honour less than man; and man is lord over them, and they created to serve him, as scripture testifieth; and he not to serve them, but only his Lord God and his Saviour Christ. All creatures are ordained to serve man.

Of worshipping of sacraments, ceremonies, images, relics, and so forth.

Now let us come to the worshipping or honouring of sacraments, ceremonies, images, and relics. First, images be not God, and therefore no confidence is to be put in[2] them. They be not made after the image of God, nor are the price of Christ's blood; but the workmanship of the craftsman, and the price of money, and therefore inferiors to man. Images.

Wherefore of all right man is lord over them, and the honour of them is to do man service; and man's dishonour it is to do them honourable service, as unto his better. Images then, and relics, yea, and, as Christ saith, the holy day too, are servants unto man. And therefore it followeth, that we cannot, but unto our damnation, put on a coat worth an hundred coats upon a post's back, and let the image of God and the price of Christ's blood go up and down thereby naked. For if we care more to clothe the dead image made by man, and the price of silver, than the lively image of God, and price of Christ's blood; then we dishonour the image of God, and him that made him, and the price of Christ's blood and him that bought him. Images are servants to man, and not man to images.

Wherefore the right use, office, and honour of all creatures, inferiors unto man, is to do man service; whether they be images, relics, ornaments, signs, or sacraments, holy days, ceremonies or sacrifices. And that may be on this manner, and no doubt it so once was. If (for an example) I take a piece of the cross of Christ, and make a little cross thereof, and bear it about me, to look thereon with a repenting heart at times when I am moved thereto, to put me in remembrance that the body of Christ was broken, and his blood shed thereon, for my sins; and believe stedfastly that the merciful truth of God shall forgive the sins of all that repent, for his death's sake, and never think on them more: then it serveth me, and I not it; and doth me the same service as if I read the testa- The use of creatures inferiors to man. W. T. The worshipping of the cross. W. T. How a man may use images well.

[2 The C. U. L. ed. has *given*.]

ment in a book, or as if the preacher preached it unto me. And in like manner, if I make a cross in my forehead, in a remembrance that God hath promised assistance unto all that believe in him, for his sake that died on the cross, then doth the cross serve me, and I not it. And in like manner, if I bear on me or look upon a cross, of whatsoever matter it be, or make a cross upon me, in remembrance that whosoever will be Christ's disciple must suffer a cross of adversity, tribulations, and persecution, so doth the cross serve me, and I not it. And this was the use of the cross once; and for this cause it was, at the beginning, set up in the churches.

The worshipping of images. W.T.

And so, if I make an image of Christ, or of any thing that Christ hath done for me, in a memory[1], it is good, and not evil, until it be abused. And even so, if I take the true life of a saint, and cause it to be painted or carved, to put me in remembrance of the saint's life, to follow the saint as the saint did Christ; and to put me in remembrance of the great faith of the saint to God, and how true God was to help him out of all tribulation; and to see the saint's love towards his neighbour, in that he so patiently suffered so painful a death, and so cruel a martyrdom to testify the truth, for to save other, and all to strength my soul withal, and my faith to God and love to my neighbour; then doth the image serve me, and I not it. And this was the use of images at the beginning, and of relics also. And to kneel before the cross unto the word of God, which the cross preacheth, is not evil. Neither to kneel down before an image, in a man's meditations, to call the living of the saint to mind, for to desire God of like grace to follow the ensample, is not evil. But the abuse of the thing is evil, and to have a false faith: as to bear a piece of the cross about a man, thinking that, so long as that is about him, spirits shall not come at him, his enemies shall do him no bodily harm, all causes shall go on his side, even for bearing it about him; and to think that if it were not about him, it would not be so; and to think, if any misfortune chance, that it came for leaving it off, or because this or that ceremony was left undone, and not rather because we have broken God's commandments, or that

Images and relics at the first were well used; but now shamefully abused.

False worshipping. W. T.

The abuse of images.

[1 From the Latin word *memoria*, which had been used by Latin fathers for a shrine, or small chapel.]

God tempteth us, to prove our patience; this is plain idolatry: and here a man is captive, bond and servant unto a false faith, and a false imagination, that is neither God nor his word. Now am I God's only, and ought to serve nothing but God and his word. My body must serve the rulers of this world, and my neighbour, as God hath appointed it, and so must all my goods; but my soul must serve God only, to love his law and to trust in his promises of mercy, in all my deeds. And in like manner it is that thousands, while the priest pattereth St John's gospel in Latin over their heads, cross themselves with, I trow, a legion of crosses, behind and before[2]; and (as Jack-of-napes, when he claweth himself) pluck up their legs, and cross so much as their heels and the very soles of their feet, and believe that if it be done in the time that he readeth the gospel (and else not), that there shall no mischance happen them that day, because only of those crosses. And where he should cross himself, to be armed and to make himself strong to bear the cross with Christ, he crosseth himself to drive the cross from him; and blesseth himself with a cross from the cross. And if he leave it undone, he thinketh it no small sin, and that God is highly displeased with him, and if any misfortune chance, thinketh it is therefore; which is also idolatry, and not God's word. And such is the confidence in the place, or image, or whatsoever bodily observance it be: such is St Agathe's letter written in the gospel time[3]. And such are the crosses on palm-sunday, made in the passion time. And such is the bearing of holy wax about a man. And such is that some hang a piece of St John's gospel about their necks. And such is to bear the names of God, with crosses between each name, about them. Such is the saying

My body must serve the prince and my neighbour, but my soul must serve God only.

St John's gospel.

This is a true crossing that we should use.

A great number of superstitious baggages.

[2 A coarse expression is here omitted.]

[3 These were reckoned a charm against the burning of houses. In the service Ad laudes for Feb. 5, her day, the Roman Breviary says, "Paganorum multitudo fugiens ad sepulchrum virginis (scilicet Agathæ) tulerunt velum ejus contra ignem; ut comprobaret Dominus, quod a periculis incendii meritis beatæ Agathæ martyris suæ eos liberaret." Besides which there is a legend, that when the emperor Frederic II. was bent on reducing Catana, her native city, to ashes, and was attending mass, he opened the book thrice at the time of reading the gospel, and each time these words appeared before his eyes in golden letters: "Offend not Agatha's native place, for she is the avenger of injuries;" after which he did not dare to proceed with his purpose.]

of gospels unto women in child-bed. Such is the limiter's[1] saying of "*In principio erat verbum*[2]," from house to house. Such is the saying of gospels to the corn in the field, in the procession-week, that it should the better grow. And such is holy bread, holy water, and serving of all ceremonies and sacraments in general, without signification. And, I pray you, how is it possible that the people can worship images, relics, ceremonies and sacraments, save superstitiously; so long as they know not the true meaning, neither will the prelates suffer any man to tell them; yea, and the very meaning of some, and right use, no man can tell?

Riches bestowed on images or relics. W. T.

And as for the riches that is bestowed on images and relics, they cannot prove but that it is abominable, as long as the poor are despised and uncared for, and not first served; for whose sakes, and to find preachers, offerings, tithes, lands, rents, and all that they have, was given the spiritualty. They will say, we may do both. May or not may, I see that the one most necessary of both is not done; but the poor are bereaved of[3] the spiritualty, of all that was in time past offered unto them. Moreover, though both were done, they shall never prove that the sight of gold and silver and of precious stones should move a man's heart to despise such things, after the doctrine of Christ. Neither can the rich coat help to move thy mind to follow the ensample of the saint; but rather, if he were pourtrayed as he suffered, in the most ungoodly wise. Which thing taken away, that such things with all other service, as sticking up candles, move not thy mind to follow the ensample of the saint, nor teach thy soul any godly learning, then the image serveth not thee, but thou the image; and so art thou an idolater, that is to say, in English, a serve-image. And thus it appeareth that your ungodly and belly doctrine, wherewith ye so magnify the deeds of your ceremonies, and of your pilgrimages, and offering, for the deed itself, to please God, and to obtain the favour of dead saints (and not to move you, and to put you in remembrance of the law of God, and of the promises which are in his Son, and to follow the ensample of the saint), is but an exhorting to serve images; and so are ye image-servers, that is, idolaters. And finally, the

Objection. W. T.

Solution. W. T.

To worship images is idolatry.

[1] D. has Limiterier. See n. 2. to p. 212, Vol. I.]

[2] In the beginning was the Word.]

[3] That is, *by*.]

more devotion men have unto such deeds, the less they have unto God's commandment; insomuch that they which be most wont to offer to images, and to shew them, be so cold in offering to the poor, that they will scarce give them the scraps which must else be given dogs, or their old shoes, if they may have new brooms for them.

Pilgrimages.

To speak of pilgrimages, I say, that a christian man, so that he leave nothing undone at home that he is bound to do, is free to go whither he will; only after the doctrine of the Lord, whose servant he is, and not his own. If he go and visit the poor, the sick, and the prisoner, it is well done, and a work that God commandeth. If he go to this or that place, to hear a sermon, or because his mind is not quiet at home; or if, because his heart is too much occupied on his worldly businesses, by the reason of occasions at home, he get him into a more quiet and still place, where his mind is more abstract, and pulled from worldly thoughts, it is well done. And in all these places, if whatsoever it be, whether lively preaching, ceremony, relic, or image, stir up his heart to God, and preach the word of God, and the ensample of our Saviour Jesus, more in one place than in another; that he thither go, I am content. And yet he bideth a lord, and the things serve him, and he not them. Now whether his intent be so or no, his deeds will testify; as his virtuous governing of his house, and loving demeanour toward his neighbours. Yea, and God's word will be alway in his heart, and in his mouth, and he every day perfecter than other. For there can nothing edify man's soul, save that which preacheth him God's word. Only the word of God worketh the health of the soul. And whatsoever[4] preacheth him that, cannot but make him perfecter.

True pilgrimage is to walk from place to place, the better to serve God and to help my neighbour.

But to believe that God will be sought more in one place than in another, or that God will hear thee more in one place than in another, or more where the image is than where it is not, is a false faith, and idolatry, or image-service. For first, God dwelleth not in temples made with hands (Acts xvii.). Item, Stephen died for the contrary, and proved it by the prophets (Acts vii.). And Salomon, in the eighth of the third

God dwelleth not in any temple made with hands.

Acts xvii.

Acts vii. 1 Kings viii.

[4 Old editions, *whatsomever*.]

of the Kings, when he had built his temple, testified the same, and that he had not built it for God to dwell in; yea, and that God dwelleth not in the earth; but that he should out of heaven hear the prayers of them that prayed there. And the prophets did often testify unto the people, that had such a false faith that God dwelt in the temple, that he dwelt not there. Moreover, God in his testament bindeth himself unto no place, nor yet thee; but speaketh generally (concerning where and when), saying (Psalm xlix.)[1], "In the day of the tribulation thou shalt call on me, and I will deliver thee, and thou shalt glorify me." He setteth neither place nor time; but wheresoever and whensoever; so that the prayer of Job upon the dunghill was as good as Paul's in the temple. And when our Saviour saith (John xvi.), "Whatsoever ye ask my Father in my name, I will give it you;" he saith not in this or that place, or this or that day; but wheresoever and whensoever, as well in the fields as in the town, and on the Monday, as on the Sunday. God is a Spirit, and will be worshipped in the spirit (John iv.): that is, though he be present everywhere, yet he dwelleth lively and gloriously in the minds of angels only, and hearts of men that love his laws and trust in his promises. And wheresoever God findeth such an heart, there he heareth the prayer, in all places and times indifferently. So that the outward place neither helpeth or hindereth, except (as I said) that a man's mind be more quiet and still from the rage of worldly businesses, or that some thing stir up the word of God and example of our Saviour more in one place than in another.

Psalm l.

John xvi.

John iv.

Whence idolatry, or image-service, springeth.

Now that thou mayest see whence all this idolatry or image-service is sprung; mark a little, and then I will answer unto the arguments which these image-servers make against the open truth. All the ceremonies, ornaments, and sacrifices of the old Testament were sacraments; that is to wete, signs preaching unto the people one thing or another: as circumcision preached unto them, that God had chosen them to be his people, and that he would be their God, and defend them, and increase and multiply them, and keep them in that land, and bless the fruits of the earth, and all their

Sacraments.

Circumcision.

All the ceremonies of the old law were preachers to the people.

[1 Ps. xlix. of Vulg. but l. of Hebr. and Auth. Vers.]

possessions; and on the other side it preached, how that they had promised God again to keep his commandments, ceremonies, and ordinances. Now when they saw their young children circumcised, if they consented unto the appointment made between God and them, moved by the preaching of that same, then they were justified thereby. Howbeit, the deed in itself, the cutting off the foreskin of the man-child's privy member, justified them not, nor was a satisfaction for the child's sins; but the preaching only did justify them that received the faith thereof: for it was a badge given indifferently, as well unto them that never consented in their hearts unto God's law, as unto the elect in whose hearts the law is written. And that this was the meaning of circumcision, may be proved many ways; but namely by Paul (Rom. ii.), where he saith, "Circumcision is much worth, if thou keep the law," whose sign it was; and else not: and (Rom. iii.), where he saith that "God did justify the circumcised of faith," whose sign it was on the other side; and else not.

The Jews by faith were justified, and not by the deeds of the law.

Rom. ii.

Rom. iii.

And the paschal lamb was a memorial of their deliverance out of Egypt only, and no satisfaction or offering for sin. And the offering of their first-fruits preached how they had received all such fruits of the hand of God, and that it was God that gave them that land, and that kept them in it, and that did bless and make their fruits grow; in token whereof, as unto a lord royal, they brought him the first-ripe fruits of their harvest: which remembrance, as long as it abode in their hearts, it moved them to love God again, and their neighbour for his sake; as he so oft desired them. And out of this ceremony was fetched the blessing of our new-ripe fruits, for like purpose; though we have lost the signification. And their other offerings, as the sacrifices of doves, turtles, lambs, kids, sheep, calves, goats and oxen, were no satisfactions for sin; but only a sign and token, that at the repentance of the heart, through an offering to come, and for that seed's sake that was promised Abraham, their sins were forgiven them.

Paschal lamb. W. T.

First-fruits.

Sacrifices.

And in like manner, the ornaments, and all other ceremonies, were either an open preaching, or secret prophecies, and not satisfactions or justifyings. And thus the works did serve them and preach unto them, and they not the works, nor put any confidence therein.

Ornaments.

Works must serve us, and not we the works.

False worshipping.

But what did the children of Israel and the Jews? They let the significations of their ceremonies go, and lost the meaning of them; and turned them unto the works, to serve them, saying that they were holy works commanded of God, and the offerers were thereby justified, and obtained forgiveness of sins, and thereby became good, (as the parable of the Pharisee and publican declareth (Luke xviii.), and as it is to see in Paul, and throughout all the bible;) and became captive to serve and put their trust in that which was neither God nor his word. And so the better creature, against nature, did serve the worse: where of all likelihood God should have accepted their work by the reason of them, if their hearts had been right; and not have accepted their souls for the blood's sake of a calf or sheep, forasmuch as a man is much better than a calf or sheep, as Christ testifieth (Matt. xii.). For what pleasure should God have in the blood of calves, or in the light of our candles? His pleasure is only in the hearts of them that love his commandments.

Luke xviii.

The Jews became servants and captives to their works.

Matt. xii.

The blind reason of hypocrites.

Then they went further in the imagination of their blind reason, saying: 'Inasmuch as God accepteth these holy works, that we be made righteous thereby, then it followeth that he which offereth most is most righteous, and the best man; yea, and it is better to offer an ox than a sheep, because it is more costly.' And so they strove who might offer most, and the priests were well apaid. Then went they further in their fleshly wisdom, saying: 'If I be good for the offering of a dove, and better for a sheep, and yet better for an ox, and so ever the better thing I offer, the better I am; oh, how accepted should I be if I offered a man, and namely him that I most loved!' And upon that imagination they offered their own children, and burnt them to ashes before images that they had imagined.

☞

O blind and foolish imagination!

And to confirm their blindness they laid for them, no doubt, the ensample of Abraham, which offered his son Isaac, and was so accepted, that God had promised him how that in his seed all the world should be blessed. Hereof ye see unto what abomination blind reason bringeth a man, when she is destitute of God's word.

Holy day.

And to speak of the sabbath, (which was ordained to be

their servant, and to preach, and to be a sign unto them, that God through his holy Spirit and word did sanctify them, in that they obeyed his commandments, and believed and trusted in his promises, and therefore were charged to leave working, and to come on the holy day, and hear the word of God, by which they were sanctified,) unto it also they became captive and bond to serve it; saying that they were justified by abstaining from bodily labour (as ours think also), insomuch that though they bestowed not the holy day in virtue, prayer, and hearing the word of God, in alms-deed, in visiting the sick, the needy and comfortless, and so forth, but went up and down idly; yet whatsoever need his neighbour had, he would not have holp him on the sabbath-day; as thou mayest see by the ruler of the synagogue, which rebuked Christ for healing the people on the holy day (Luke xiii.).

Exod. xxxi.

The sabbath-day must serve us, and not we the sabbath-day.

How the sabbath-day should be occupied.

Luke xiii.

And of like blindness they went and fet out the brasen serpent, which Moses commanded to be kept in the ark for a memory, and offered before it; thinking (no doubt) that God must be there present, for else how could it have healed the people that came not nigh it, but stood afar off, and beheld it only? And a thousand such madnesses did they.

The brasen serpent.

And of the temple they thought, that God heard them there better than any where else; yea, and he heard them no where save there. And therefore they could not pray but there, as ours can nowhere but at church, and before an image. For what prayer can a man pray when the word of God is not in the temple of his heart? yea, and when such come to church, what is their prayer, and what is their devotion, save the blind image-service of their hearts?

The temple.

Prayer without faith is not prayer.

But the prophets ever rebuked them for such faithless works, and for such false faith in their works. In the forty-ninth [fiftieth] psalm saith the prophet, "I will receive no calves of your houses, nor goats out of your folds; think ye that I will eat the flesh of oxen, or drink the blood of goats?" And Isaiah saith in his first chapter: "What care I for the multitude of your sacrifices? saith the Lord. I am full. I have no lust in the burnt-offerings of your rams, or in the fat of fat beasts, or blood of calves, lambs or goats: offer me no more such false sacrifice." And thereto, "Your sweet incense is an abomination unto me." And thus he said, because of the false faith, and perverting the right use of them.

Psalm l.

God despised the sacrifices of the unfaithful Jews.

Isai. i.

Fasting.

And for their false fasting, not referring their fast unto the taming and subduing of their flesh unto the spirit, when they complained unto God, justifying themselves, and saying, "How happeneth it that we have fasted, and thou wouldest not look upon it? we have humbled our souls, and thou wouldest not know it?" God answered them by the prophet Isaiah, in the fifty-eighth chapter: "Behold, in the day of your fast ye do your own lusts, and gather up all your debts. And howsoever ye fast, ye nevertheless strive, and fight, and smite with fist cruelly. I have chosen no such fast and humbling of soul, &c.: but that ye loose wicked bonds, and let the oppressed go free, and to break bread unto the hungry, and to clothe the naked," and so forth.

Isaiah lviii.

Superstitious fasting doth God abhor.

True fasting, what it is.

Temple.

Isai. lxvi.

Acts xii. Acts xvii.

And concerning the temple, Isaiah saith in his last chapter: "What house will ye build for me, or in what place shall I rest? Heaven is my seat, and the earth my foot-stool." As who should say, I am too great for any place that ye can make; and (as Stephen saith, Acts vii. and Paul, Acts xvii.) "I dwell not in a temple made with hands."

How ceremonies sprang among us.

Understand also (to see how we came into like blindness), that before the coming of Christ in the flesh the Israelites and Jews were scattered throughout all the world, to punish[1] their image-service, both east, west, south, and north, as ye read in the chronicles how England was once full[2]: so that there was no province or great city in the world, where no Jews were; God so providing for the speedy preaching of the gospel among the heathen throughout the world. Now Christ, as he was promised, so was he sent, unto the Jews or Israelites. And what by Christ's preaching, and the apostles' after his resurrection, there were innumerable Jews converted, haply an hundred thousand or more in Jerusalem and Jewry, and in the countries about, and abode still in the land. Then Paul rose up, and persecuted them in Jerusalem, and throughout all Jewry and Damascus, slaying all that he could catch, or

Paul a cruel persecutor.

[1 So C. U. L. but D. has *for*.]

[2 That is full of Jews. They were expelled from England by Edward I. in 1293; and were not suffered to reside in England from that date to the close of 1655, when Cromwell sanctioned their return.]

making them forswear Christ: for fear of which persecution they fled into all coasts, and preached unto the Jews that were scattered; proving that Jesus was Christ, the Saviour of the world, both by the scripture, and also by miracles; so that a great part of the Jews came to the faith everywhere, and we heathen came in shortly after; and part abode still in unbelief, as unto this day.

Many Jews were converted to the faith of Christ.

Now the Jews being born and bred up, rooted and noselled in ceremonies, as I have shewed, and as ye may better see in the five books of Moses, if ye would read them, could but with great difficulty depart from them; as it is to see in all the epistles of Paul how he fought against them, but in process[3] they gat the upper hand. And thereto the first that were christened, and all the officers and bishops of the church, even so much as the great god of Rome[4], were Jews for the most part, a great season.

Rom. ix. All that came of Israel are not Israelites.

And moreover, as Paul saith (Rom. ix.), "Not all that came of Israel are right Israelites; neither are all they Abraham's sons that are Abraham's seed." Why so? Because they followed not the steps of the faith of their grandfathers. Even so, not all they that were called, and also came unto the marriage, which God the Father made between Christ his Son and all sinners, brought their marriage-garment with them; that is to wit, true faith, wherewith we be married unto Christ, and made his flesh and his blood, and one spirit with him, his brethren and heirs with him, and the sons of God also. But many of them (to fulfil the saying of Christ, that the kingdom of heaven, which is the gospel, is like a net that catcheth good and bad) were driven into the net, and compelled to confess that Jesus was Christ, and that seed that was promised Abraham, and Messias that should come; not of any inward feeling that the Spirit of God gave them, neither of any lovely consent that they had unto the law of God, that it was good, mourning both because they had broken it, and because also they had no power to fulfil it, and therefore to obtain mercy and power, came to Christ, and unto the Father through him with the heart of natural children, which receive all things freely of their father's bounteous

Matt. xxii.

The Jews came not to understanding of Christ of love, but were enforced thereunto by the scriptures.

[3 So the C. U. L. but D. has *and in proccss gat* &c.]

[4 Meaning the bishop of Rome.]

liberality, and of love become servants unto their brethren for their father's sake; but were compelled only with violence of the scripture, which everywhere bare witness unto Christ, and agreed unto all that he did, and overcome also with the power of miracles that confirmed the same: that is to say, they came with a story faith, a popish faith, a faithless faith, and a feigned faith of their own making, and not as God in the scripture describeth the faith; so believing in Christ, that they would be justified by their own deeds, which is the denying of Christ. As our papists believe, which, more mad than those Jews, believe nothing by reason of the scripture, but only that such a multitude consent thereto, compelled with violence of sword, with falsifying of the scripture, and feigned lies: which multitude yet is not the fifth part so many as they that consent unto the law of Mahomet; and therefore, by their own arguments, the faith of the Turks is better than theirs. And their faith thereto may stand by their own confession with all mischief, (as it well appeareth by them,) and with yielding themselves to work all wickedness with full delectation, after the ensample of the faith of their father the devil, and without repentance and consent unto the law of God that it is good. Which popish thereto[1] so believe in Christ, and so will be his servants, that they will be bound unto dumb ceremonies and dead works; putting their trust and confidence in them, and hoping to be saved by them, and ascribing unto them the thank of their salvation and righteousness.

The Turks are a far greater number than the papists.

And therefore because, as I said, the Jews, yea, and the heathen too, were so accustomed unto ceremonies, and because such a multitude came with a faithless faith, they went[2] clean contrary unto the mind of Paul, and set up ceremonies in the new Testament; partly borrowing them of Moses, and partly imagining like as ye now see, and called them sacraments, that is to say, signs (as it is plain in the stories); the sacrament of holy water, of holy fire, holy bread, holy salt, and so forth. And they gave them significations: as holy water signified the sprinkling of Christ's blood for our redemption; which sacrament or sign, though it seem superfluous (inas-

Ceremonies set up in the new Testament.

What holy water signifieth. W.T.

[1 So the C. U. L. but D. has, *And the popish also do so*, &c.]

[2 So D. but the C. U. L. has *and* here, and omits it after Paul.]

much as the sacrament of Christ's body and blood signifieth the same daily), yet as long as the signification bode, it hurted not. And the kissing of the pax was set up, to signify that the peace of Christ should be ever among us, one to love another after his ensample; as the word itself well declareth: for pax is as much to say as peace. The pax.

As for confirmation, it is no doubt but that it came this wise up, and that this was the use; which the word itself well declareth. We read in the stories, that they which were converted unto the faith of the age of discretion, were full taught in the law of God (as right is), and in the faith of our Saviour Jesus, ere they were baptized, and upon the profession or promising to keep that law and faith were baptized. And then for the succour and help of young children, baptized before the age of discretion, to know the law of God and faith of Christ, was confirmation instituted, that they should not be alway ignorant and faithless, but be taught the profession of their baptism. And this no doubt was the manner, as we may well gather by probable conjectures and evident tokens: when the children were of six or seven years old, their elders brought them unto the priest or deacon in every parish, which officer taught the children what their baptism meant, and what they had professed therein; that is to wit, the law of God, and their duty unto all degrees, and the faith of our Saviour. And then, because it should not be neglect or left undone, an higher officer, as the archdeacon (for it hath not been, as I suppose, in the bishop's hands alway as now, neither were it meet), came about from parish to parish at times convenient: and the priests brought the children unto him, at eleven or twelve years old, before they were admitted to receive the sacrament of Christ's body haply; and he apposed[3] them of the law of God and faith of Christ, and asked them whether they thought that law good, and whether their hearts were to follow it? And they answered, Yea. And he apposed them in the articles of our faith, and asked them whether they put their hope and trust in Christ, to be saved through his death and merits? And they answered, Yea. Then confirmed he their baptism, saying, 'I confirm you; that is, I denounce and declare, by

Confirmation.

Confirmation, how it came first unto the church.

The manner of confirming of children.

This is a right confirmation.

[3 Questioned.]

the authority of God's word, and doctrine of Christ, that ye be truly baptized within, in your hearts and in your spirits, through professing the law of God and the faith of our Saviour Jesus, which your outward baptism doth signify; and thereupon I put this cross in your foreheads, that ye go and fight against the devil, the world, and the flesh, under the standard of our Saviour, in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. Amen.' Which manner I would to God, for his tender mercy, were in use this day.

But after that the devil was broken loose, and the bishops began to purchase, and the deacons to scratch all to them, and the spiritualty to climb on high; then, because the labour seemed too tedious and painful to appose the children one by one, they asked the priests that presented them only, Whether the children were taught the profession of their baptism? And they answered, Yea: and so, upon their words, they confirmed them without apposing. So when they no longer apposed them, the priests no longer taught them; but committed the charge to their godfathers and godmothers, and they to the father and mother, discharging themselves, by their own authority, within half an hour.

The abuse of confirmation.

And the father and mother taught them a monstrous Latin paternoster and an ave and a creed: which gibberish every popinjay[1] speaketh with a sundry pronunciation and fashion; so that one paternoster seemeth as many languages almost, as there be tongues that speak it. Howbeit, it is all one, as long as they understand it not. And in process, as the ignorance grew, they brought them to confirmation straight from baptism, so that now oft-times they be volowed[2] and bishopped both in one day; that is, we be confirmed in blindness to be kept from knowledge for ever. And thus are we come into this damnable ignorance and fierce wrath of God, through our own deserving; because, when the truth was told us, we had no love thereto. And to declare the full and set wrath of God upon us, our prelates whom we have exalted over us, to whom we have given almost all we had, have per-

The fruits of ignorance.

Confirmation is made now a confirming in all superstition, ignorance, and popery.

[1 Popinjay, an incorrect imitation of papagayo, the name by which the Spaniards, the first importers of parrots, called that bird.]

[2 See Vol. I. 276.]

suaded the worldly princes (to whom we have submitted ourselves, and given up our power) to devour up body and soul, and to keep us down in darkness, with violence of sword, and with all falsehood and guile; insomuch that, if any do but lift up his nose to smell after the truth, they swap him in the face with a fire-brand, to singe his smelling; or if he open one of his eyes once to look toward the light of God's word, they blear and daze his sight with their false juggling: so that if it were possible, though he were God's elect, he could not but be kept down, and perish for lack of knowledge of the truth.

The papistical tyranny.

And in like manner, because Christ had instituted the sacrament of his body and blood, to keep us in remembrance of his body-breaking and blood-shedding for our sins, therefore went they and set up this fashion of the mass, and ordained sacraments in the ornaments thereof to signify and express all the rest of his passion. The amice on the head is the kerchief that Christ was blindfolded with, when the soldiers buffeted him and mocked him, saying, "Prophesy unto us, who smote thee[3]?" But now it may well signify that he that putteth it on is blinded, and hath professed to lead us after him in darkness, according unto the beginning of his play. And the flap thereon is the crown of thorns: and the alb is the white garment that Herod put on him, saying he was a fool, because he held his peace, and would not answer him. And the two flaps on the sleeves, and the other two on the alb beneath, over against his feet behind and before, are the four nails; and the fanon on his hand, the cord that his hands were bound with; and the stole, the rope wherewith he was bound unto the pillar, when he was scourged; and the corporis-cloth,

How the ceremonies about the ministration of the Lord's supper came first into the church.

Amice.

The flap on the amice.

The alb.

The flaps on the alb.

The fanon.

The stola.

The corporis-cloth.

[3 Sir Thomas More has said that Tyndale got his account of the meaning assigned to various ceremonies in the Romish ritual from "a good friar's book called Rationale divinorum." Confut. of Tyndale, fol. lxv. The work thus described was doubtless the Rationale divinorum officiorum a R. D. Gulielmo Durando Mimatensi episcopo, J. U. D. clarissimo concinnatum. It is at the close of a whole chapter on the significations of the amice (amictus), that Durandus says: Amictus etiam repræsentat operimentum, quo Judæi velabant faciem Christi, dicentes, Prophetiza nobis, Christe, quis est qui te percussit? Lib. III. cap. 2. In like manner the last words of Durandus' next chapter, De alba, are: Hæc etiam vestis repræsentat albam vestem, in qua Herodes illusit Christo.]

The altar. the sindon wherein he was buried; and the altar is the cross, or haply the grave; and so forth: and the casting abroad of his hands, the splaying of Christ upon the cross; and the Candles. light and sticking up of candles, and bearing of candles or Matt. v. tapers in procession, haply signified this text, "Ye be the light of the world;" and, "Let your light so shine before men, that they may see your good works, and glorify your Father which Salt. is in heaven." And the salt signifieth the wisdom of Christ's doctrine; and that we should therewith salt our deeds, and do nothing without the authority of God's word. So that in one thing or other, what in the garments, and what in the gestures, all is played; insomuch that before he will go to mass, he will be sure to sell him, lest Judas's part should be left out.

☞ All ceremonies at the beginning had significations.

And so throughout all the sacraments, ceremonies, or signs (three words of one signification) there were significations unto them at the beginning. And so long as it was understood what was meant by them, and they did but serve the people, and preach one thing or another unto them, they hurted not greatly; though that the free servant of Christ ought not to be brought violently into captivity under the bondage of traditions of men: as St Augustine[1] complaineth in his days, how Austin. that the condition and state of the Jews was more easy than The state of the Jews more easy than the Christians under traditions. the Christians under traditions; so sore had the tyranny of the shepherds invaded the flock already in those days[2]. And then what just cause have we to complain our captivity now; unto whose yoke from that time hitherto, even twelve hundred years long, hath ever somewhat more weight been added to, for to keep us down and to confirm us in blindness: howbeit, as long as the significations bode, they hurted not the soul, though they were painful unto the body. Nevertheless, I impute

[1 So in C. U. L., but in Day, *Austin.*]

[2 Ipsam religionem, quam paucissimis et manifestissimis celebrationum sacramentis misericordia Dei esse liberam voluit, servilibus oneribus premunt; ut tolerabilior sit conditio Judæorum, qui etiamsi tempus libertatis non agnoverunt, legalibus tamen sarcinis, non humanis præsumtionibus, subjiciuntur.—August. Ad inquisit. Januar. Lib. IV. seu Epist. IV. Op. Tom. II. col. 142. D. F. It is observable that the very copious and distinct index of the Benedictine editors contains no notice of this passage, though some words from the next sentence are introduced into their index. The passage had however caught the attention of Erasmus, who has an instructive notice and amplification of it in his note on Matt. xi. 30. Desid. Erasmi Op. Tom. VI.]

this our grievous fall into so extreme and horrible blindness (wherein we are so deep and so deadly brought asleep) unto nothing so much as unto the multitude of ceremonies. For as soon as the prelates had set up such a rabble of ceremonies, they thought it superfluous to preach the plain text any longer, and the law of God, faith of Christ, love toward our neighbour, and the order of our justifying and salvation; (forasmuch as all such things were played before the people's faces daily in the ceremonies, and every child wist the meaning;) but got them unto allegories, feigning them every man after his own brain, without rule, almost on every syllable; and from thence unto disputing, and wasting their brains about words, not attending the significations; until at the last the lay-people had lost the meaning of the ceremonies, and the prelates the understanding of the plain text, and of the Greek, and Latin, and specially of the Hebrew, which is most of need to be known, and of all phrases, the proper manner of speakings, and borrowed speech of the Hebrews.

Out of the ceremonies sprang the ignorance of the scripture.

The multitude of ceremonies put away preaching.

Ceremonies are the chief cause of ignorance.

Remember ye not how within this thirty years and far less, and yet dureth unto this day, the old barking curs, Dun's disciples, and like draff called Scotists, the children of darkness, raged in every pulpit against Greek, Latin and Hebrew; and what sorrow the schoolmasters, that taught the true Latin tongue, had with them; some beating the pulpit with their fists for madness, and roaring out with open and foaming mouth, that if there were but one Terence or Virgil in the world, and that same in their sleeves, and a fire before them, they would burn them therein, though it should cost them their lives; affirming that all good learning decayed, and was utterly lost, since men gave them unto the Latin tongue? Yea, and I dare say that there be twenty thousand priests, curates, this day in England, and not so few, that cannot give you the right English unto this text in the Paternoster, *Fiat voluntas tua, sicut in cœlo et in terra*, and answer thereto[3].

The doctrine of Duns advanced.

The blind papists are enemies to all good learning and knowledge.

Ignorant priests.

[3 "I find from the answers to bishop Hooper's visitation, 155½, that there were scores of clergy who could not tell who was the author of the Lord's prayer, or where it was to be found. Such was the case of George Roo, the rector of Winchcomb, the largest town of this vicinity. I found this document of bishop Hooper's the other day." Letter of the late Geo. Stokes, Esq., to the editor. Dated, Cheltenham, June 22, 1846.]

And as soon as the signification of the ceremonies was lost, and the priests preached Christ no longer, then the common people began to wax mad and out of their minds upon the ceremonies. And that trust and confidence, which the ceremonies preached to be given unto God's word and Christ's blood, that same they turned unto the ceremony itself; as though a man were so mad to forget that the bush at the tavern-door did signify wine to be sold within, but would believe that the bush itself would quench his thirst. And so they became servants unto the ceremonies; ascribing their justifying and salvation unto them, supposing that it was nothing else to be a christian man than to serve ceremonies, and him most christian that most served them; and contrariwise, him that was not popish and ceremonial, no christian man at all. For I pray you, for what cause worship we our spiritualty so highly, or wherefore think we their prayers better than the poor laymen's, than for their disguisings and ceremonies? Yea, and what other virtue see we in the holiest of them, than to wait upon dumb superstitious ceremonies?

Ignorance made us servants to ceremonies.

Yea, and how cometh it that a poor layman, having wife and twenty children, and not able to find[1] them, though all his neighbours know his necessity, shall not get with begging for Christ's sake, in a long summer's day, enough to find them two days honestly; when if a disguised monster come, he shall, with an hour's lying in the pulpit, get enough to find thirty or forty sturdy lubbers a month long, of which the weakest shall be as strong in the belly, when he cometh unto the manger, as the mightiest porter in the weigh-house[2], or best courser that is in the king's stable? Is there any other cause than disguising and ceremonies? For the deeds of the ceremonies we count better than the deeds which God commandeth to be done to our neighbour at his need. Who thinketh it as good a deed to feed the poor, as to stick up a candle before a post, or as to sprinkle himself with holy water? Neither is it possible to be otherwise, as long as the signification is lost. For what other thing can the people think, than that such deeds be ordained of God; and because, as it is evident, they serve not our neighbour's need, to be

The idle papists are preferred by ceremonies.

As long as we had the signification of the ceremonies, so long they were suffer-

[1 That is, provide for.]

[2 The custom-house, where goods were weighed, to be tolled accordingly.]

referred unto the person of God, and he, though he be a spirit, yet served therewith? And then he cannot but forth on[3] dispute, in his blind reason, that as God is greater than man, so is that deed that is appointed to serve God greater than that which serveth man. And then, when it is not possible to think them ordained for nought, what can I otherwise think than that they were ordained to justify; and that I should be holy thereby, according to the pope's doctrine; as though God were better pleased, when I sprinkled myself with water, or set up a candle before a block, than if I fed or clothed, or holp at his need, him whom he so tenderly loveth that he gave his own Son unto the death for him, and commanded me to love him as myself?

able; but, the signification being gone, the ceremony is mere superstition.

And when the people began to run that way, the prelates were glad, and holp to heave after with subtle allegories and falsifying the scripture; and went and hallowed the ceremonies, to make them more worshipful, that the lay people should have them in greater estimation and honour, and to be afraid to touch them, for reverence unto the holy charm that was said over them; and affirmed also that Christ's death had purchased such grace unto the ceremonies to forgive sin and to justify. O monster! Christ's death purchased grace for man's soul, to repent of evil, and to believe in Christ for remission of sin, and to love the law of God, and his neighbour as himself; which is the true worshipping of God in the spirit; and he died not to purchase such honour unto unsensible things, that man to his dishonour should do them honourable service, and receive his salvation of them.

When the people by ignorance waxed superstitious, then the clergy holp them forward with falsifying the scripture.

Christ's death purchased grace for man's soul.

This I have declared unto you, that ye might see and feel every thing sensibly. For I intend not to lead you in darkness. Neither though twice two cranes make not four wild geese, would I therefore that ye should believe that twice two made not four. Neither intend I to prove unto you, that Paul's steeple is the cause why Thames is broke in about Erith, or that Tenterden steeple is the cause of the decay of Sandwich haven, as Master More jesteth[4]. Nevertheless, this I would were persuaded unto you (as it is true),

Tenterden steeple.

[3 Thenceforward.]

[4 This well-known tale first appeared in Sir Thomas More's Dialogue, as an illustration of the mistakes which might arise from not distinguishing between a consequence and an effect.]

that the building of them and such like, through the false faith that we have in them, is the decay of all the havens in England, and of all the cities, towns, highways, and shortly of the whole commonwealth. For since these false monsters crope up into our consciences, and robbed us of the knowledge of our Saviour Christ, making us believe in such pope-holy works, and to think that there was none other way unto heaven, we have not ceased to build them abbeys, cloisters, colleges, chauntries, and cathedral churches with high steeples, striving and envying one another who should do most. And as for the deeds that pertain unto our neighbours and unto the commonwealth, we have not regarded at all, as things which seemed no holy works, or such as God would not once look upon. And therefore we left them unseen to, until they were past remedy, or past our power to remedy them; inasmuch as our slow bellies, with their false blessings, had juggled away from us that wherewith they might have been holpen in due season. So that the silly poor man (though he had haply no wisdom to express his mind, or that he durst not, or that Master More fashioneth his tale as he doth other men's, to jest out the truth,) saw that neither Goodwin sands, nor any other cause alleged, was the decay of Sandwich haven, so much as that the people had no lust to maintain the commonwealth, for blind devotion which they have to pope-holy works.

The building of abbeys, cloisters, and religious houses, have been a great decay to the good state of this realm.

THE SOLUTIONS AND ANSWERS UNTO M. MORE'S FIRST BOOK.

In the first chapter, to begin the book withal, to bring you good luck, and to give you a say[1], or a taste what truth shall follow, he feigneth a letter sent from no man.

The Second Chapter.

In the second chapter, besides that it is untrue this use to have been ever since the time of the apostles, he maketh many sophistical reasons about worshipping of saints, relics, and images[2]; and yet declareth not with what manner worship,

Worshipping.

[1 That is, an assay.]

[2 In his second chapter More says, "Very sure I am that St Austin,

but juggleth with the term *in common*[3], as he doth with this word *church*, and this word *faith*, when the words have divers significations: for all faiths are not one manner faith, and so forth; and therefore he beguileth a man's understanding. As if a man said, 'The boy's will was good, to have given his father a blow;' and another would infer, that a good will could be no sin; and conclude that a man might lawfully smite his father. Now is good will taken in one sense in the major, and another in the minor, (to use scholars' terms;) and therefore the conclusion doth mock a man's wit. Then disputeth he, the servant is honoured for the master's sake; and what is done to the poor is done to Christ; as the popish shall once feel for their so robbing them. And the twelve apostles shall have their seats, and sit and judge with Christ; as shall all that here preach him truly as they did. And Mary, that poured the ointment on Christ's head before his passion, hath her memorial, and therefore we ought to set candles before images[4].

Subtle juggling and words.

St Hierome, St Basil, St Gregory, with so many a godly conning man as hath been in Christ's church from the beginning hitherto, understood those texts, (Thou shalt carve thee none image, &c.) as well as did those heretics—having beside their learning the light and clearness of God's especial grace, by which they were inwardly taught of his only Spirit, to perceive that the words spoken in the old law to the Jews people, prone to idolatry, should have no place to forbid images among his christian flock; where his pleasure would be to have the image of his blessed body, hanging on his holy cross, had in honour and reverent remembrance; where he would vouchsafe to send unto the king Abiagarus the image of his own face; where he liked to leave the holy vernacle, the express image also of his blessed visage, as a token to remain in honour among such as loved him, from the time of his bitter passion hitherto. Which as it was by the miracle of his blessed holy hand expressed and left in the sudary; so hath it been by like miracle, in that thin corruptible cloth, kept and preserved this xv hundred year fresh and well perceived." More's Works, ed. of 1557. p. 113.]

[3 "Well they note that the church worshippeth not saints as God, but as God's good servants; and therefore the honour that is done to them redoundeth principally to the honour of their Master, like as in common custom of people we do reverence sometime and make great cheer to some men for their master's sake, whom else we would not, haply, bid once Good-morrow." Id. p. 118.]

[4 "Christ also promised that Saint Mary Magdalene should be worshipped through the world, and have here an honourable remem-

True worshipping of saints.

First, I ask him by what rule his argument holdeth? And secondarily, I answer, that the true worshipping of saints is their memorial, to follow them as they did Christ. And that honour we give them; and so do not ye popish, but follow the steps of your father the pope, as he doth the steps of his father the devil. And as for sticking up of candles, I answer, that God is a spirit, and in the spirit must be worshipped only. Faith to his promises, and love to his laws, and longing for the life that is in his Son, are his due honour and service. All bodily service must be referred unto ourselves, and not unto the person of God immediately. All outward things which we receive of God are given us, to take our parts with thanks, and to bestow the rest upon our neighbours. For God useth no such things in his own person, but created them for to give them us, that we should thank him, and not to receive them of us, to thank us; for that were our praise, and not his. Fasting, watching, woolward-going, pilgrimage, and all bodily exercise, must be referred unto the taming of the flesh only. For as God delighteth not in the taste of meat, drink, or in the sight of gold or silver; no more doth he in my fast, and such like, that I should refer them unto his person, to do him a pleasure withal. For God in himself is as good as he can be, and hath all the delectation that he can have; and therefore to wish that God were better than he is, or had more pleasure than he hath, is of a worldly imagination.

True worshipping of God.

Bodily exercise.

And all the spirits that be in heaven are in as good case as they can be, and have all the delectation they can have; and therefore to wish them in better case, or to study to do them more pleasure than they have, is fleshly-minded popishness. The pleasure of them that be in heaven is, that we hearken to God and keep his commandments; which when we do, they have all the pleasure that they can have in us. If in this life I suffer hell gladly, to win my brother to follow God; how much more, if I were in heaven, should I rejoice

They that are in heaven do chiefly desire that we hearken to God, and do his will.

brance, for that she bestowed that precious ointment upon his holy head: which thing when I consider, it maketh me marvel of the madness of these heretics, that bark against the old ancient customs of Christ's church, mocking the setting up of candles, and with foolish facetics and blasphemous mockery demand whether God and his saints lack light, or whether it be night with them, that they cannot see without a candle. They might as well ask, What good did that ointment to Christ's head?" Id. p. 118.]

that he so did! If in this world, when I have need of my neighbour by the reason of mine infirmities, yet I seek nought of him, save his wealth only; what other thing should I seek of him, if I were in heaven, where he can do me no service, nor I use any pleasure that he can do me?

The devil desired to have his imaginations worshipped as God, and his popish children desire the same, and compel men so to honour them; and of their devilish nature describe they both God and his saints. And therefore I say, all such fleshly imaginations, as to fast the Wednesday in the worship of St John, or of St Catharine, or what saint it be, or to fast saints' eves, or to go a pilgrimage unto their images, or to offer to them, to do them pleasure, thinking thereby to obtain their favour, and to make special advocates of them, as a man would win the favour of another with presents and gifts, and thinking that if we did it not, they would be angry, are plain idolatry and image-service; for the saint delighteth in no such. And when thou stickest up a candle before the image, thou mightest with as good reason make an hollow belly in the image, and pour in meat and drink: for as the saint neither eateth nor drinketh, so hath he no bodily eyes to delight in the light of a candle.

All popish imaginations are idolatry.

Candles.

Another is this, God giveth not the promises that are in Christ for bodily service, but of his mercy only, unto his own glory. Yea, and of the father's goodness do all natural children receive. Ask a little boy, who gave him his gay coat? He answereth, 'his father.' Ask him why? And he answereth, 'Because he is his father, and loveth him; and because he is his son.' Ask him whether his father love him? And he saith, 'Yea.' Ask him how he knoweth it? And he saith, 'Because he giveth me this, or that.' Ask him whether he love his father? He saith, 'Yea.' Ask him why? He saith, 'for his father loveth him, and giveth him all thing.' Ask him, why he worketh? He answereth, 'his father will so have it.' Ask him, why his father giveth not such and such boys coats too? 'Nay, saith he, they be not his sons; their fathers must give them, as mine doth me.' Go now, ye popish bond-servants, and receive your reward for your false works, and rob your brethren, and reign over them with violence and cruel tyranny; and make them worship your pillars, pole-axes, images and hats. And we will receive of the merciful

We receive all things of God our Father, for Jesus Christ's sake, his Son and our only Saviour.

We must do all things of love.

kindness of our Father; and will serve our brethren freely of very love; and will be their servants, and suffer for their sakes. And thereto, our good deeds, which we do unto our neighbour's need, spring out of our righteousness or justifying, which is the forgiveness of our sins in Christ's blood; and of other righteousness know we not before God. And contrariwise, your righteousness or justifying, which standeth (as your faith doth) with all wickedness, springeth out of your holy works; which ye do to no man freely, save unto painted posts.

Sacrifices.

And when he allegeth the sacrifices of the old law, I say, They were sacraments, and preached unto the people, (as, no doubt, our candles once were,) and were no holy works to be referred unto God's person to obtain his favour, and to justify the people, and that the people should do them for the works' selves. And when the people had lost the significations, and looked on the holiness of the deeds, to be justified thereby, they were image-service, and hateful to God, and rebuked of the prophets, as it is to see throughout all the old Testament.

Rom. xiv.

Then he juggleth with a text of St Paul (Rom. xiv.)[1], Let every man for his part abound, one in this idolatry and another in that: when the sense of the text is, Let every man be sure of his own conscience, that he do nothing except he know well, and his conscience serve him, that it may be lawfully done. But what care they to abuse God's word, and to wrest it unto the contrary?

And in the last end, to utter his excellent blindness, he saith: The wise man, Luther, thinketh that if the gold were

[1 In More's works, as published in 1557, his margin directs the reader to 1 Thess. iv, and not to Rom. xiv. More allows that "it would be percase very true," that men ought to spend their money in gifts to the living temples of the Holy Ghost, rather than to ornament temples of stone, "if there were so little to do it with, that we should be driven of necessity to leave the one undone;" and he proceeds to say, "But God giveth enough for both, and giveth divers men divers kinds of devotion, and all to his pleasure." In which, as the apostle Paul saith, "Let every man for his part abound, and be plenteous in that kind of virtue that the Spirit of God guideth him to; and not to be of the foolish mind that Luther is," &c, p. 119. The text which More had misapplied is the last clause of Rom. xiv. 5; which was rendered in the Vulgate, "Unusquisque in suo sensu abundet;" but by Tyndale, "See that no man waver in his own mind."]

taken from the relics, it would be given unto the poor immediately; when he seeth the contrary, that they which have their purses full, will give the poor, if they give aught, either an half penny, or in his country the fourth part of a farthing. Now I ask master More's conscience, seeing they have no devotion unto the poor, which are as Christ's own person, and for whom Christ hath suffered his passion, that we should be kind to them, and whom to visit with our alms is God's commandment; with what mind do they offer so great treasure to the garnishing of shrines, images, and relics? It is manifest that they which love not God's commandment can do nothing godly. Wherefore such offerings come of a false faith; so that they think them better than works commanded by God, and believe to be justified thereby. And therefore are they but image-service.

A sure token of a false faith and image-service. W. T.

And when he saith, We might as well rebuke the pouring of the anointment on Christ's head: nay, Christ was then mortal, as well as we, and used such things as we do, and it refreshed his body. But and if thou wouldest now pour such on his image, to do him pleasure, I would rebuke it.

A difference between Christ's natural body, and a painted image.

The Third Chapter.

In the third chapter he bringeth in miracles done at St Stephen's tomb. I answer, that the miracles done at saints' tombs were done for the same purpose that the miracles which they did, when they were alive, were done; even to provoke unto the faith of their doctrine; and not to trust in the place, or in bones, or in the saint: as Paul sent his napkin to heal the sick; not that men should put trust in his napkin, but believe his preaching.

Miracles.

Miracles were done by the saints to confirm their doctrine.

And in the old Testament Elisæus healed Naaman, the heathen man, in the water of Jordan, not to put trust in the water, or to pray in that place; but to wonder at the power of God, and to come and believe as he also did. And that his bones, when he was dead, raised up a dead man, was not done that men should pray to him, (for that was not lawful then, by their own doctrine,) neither to put their trust in his bones. For God, to avoid all such idolatry, had polluted all dead bones; so that whosoever touched a dead bone, was unclean, and all that came in his company, until he had washed

Elisæus.

Dead bones may not be worshipped.

himself; insomuch that if a place were abused with offering unto idols, there was no better remedy than to scatter dead bones there, to drive the people thence, for being defiled and polluted. But his bones did that miracle to testify that he was a true prophet, and to move men unto the faith of his doctrine. And even so miracles done at the holy cross were done to move men unto faith of him that died thereon; and not that we should believe in the wood.

Pilgrimages.

He saith that "pilgrims put not trust in the place, as necromancers do in their circles;" and saith he wotteth not what, to mock out the text of our Saviour, of praying in the spirit. And in the end he confoundeth himself, saying, "We reckon our prayers more pleasant in one place than in another[1]." And that must be by the reason of the place; for God is as good in one place as in another, and also the man. Moreover where a man pleaseth God best, thither is he most bound to go. And so that imagination bindeth a man to the place with a false faith; as necromancers trust in their circles.

More reasoneth untowardly.

God is like good in every place.

And again, if God had said that he would more hear in one place than in another, he had bound himself to the place. Now as God is like good every where, generally, so hath he made his testament generally, wheresoever mine heart moveth me, and [I] am quiet to pray unto him, there to hear me like graciously.

Temple.

And if a man lay to our charge, that God bound them unto the tabernacle, and after to the temple, in the old testament; I say that he did it, not for the place's sake, but for the monuments and testimonies, that there preached the word of God unto them; so that though the priests had been negligent to preach, yet should such things that there were have kept the people in the remembrance of the testament, made between God and them. Which cause, and such like only, should move us to come to church, and unto one place more than another. And as long as I come more to one place than another because of the quietness, or that something preacheth God's word more lively unto me there than in another, the place is my servant, and I not bound to it: which cause, and such

The people were specially called to the temple, to behold the monuments there, whereby they might the better learn the mighty power of God.

[1 "God is not bounden to the place, nor our confidence bounden to the place, but unto God, though we reckon our prayer more pleasant to God in the church than without, because his high goodness acceptoth it so." More, p. 123.]

like, taken away, I cannot but put trust in the place as necromancers do in their circles, and am an image-server, and walk after mine own imagination, and not after God's word.

And when he saith, "We might as well mock the observance of the paschal lamb;" I answer, Christ our paschal lamb is offered for us, and hath delivered us, as Paul saith (1 Cor. v.), whose sign and memorial is the sacrament of his body and blood. Moreover we were not delivered out of Egypt. And therefore, inasmuch as we be overladen with our own, I see no cause why we should become Jews, to observe their ceremonies too.

Paschal lamb. 1 Cor. v.

And when he saith, "Holy strange gestures[2];" I answer, for the holiness I will not swear, but the strangeness I dare well avow: for every priest maketh them of a sundry manner, and many more madly than the gestures of jack-an-apes. And when he saith, that "they were left from hand to hand, since the apostles' time;" it is untrue: for the apostles used the sacrament as Christ did, as thou mayest see 1 Cor. xi. Moreover the apostles left us in the light, and taught us all the counsel of God, as Paul witnesseth, Acts xx.; and hid nothing in "strange holy gestures," and ape's play, the significations whereof no man might understand.

Holy strange gestures is like an ape's play. 1 Cor. xi. Acts xx.

And "a christian man is more moved to pity," saith he, "at the sight of the cross than without it." If he take pity, as Englishmen do, for compassion, I say that a christian man is moved to pity, when he seeth his brother bear the cross. And at the sight of the cross, he that is learned in God weepeth not Christ[3] with ignorant women, as a man doth for his father when he is dead; but mourneth for his sins, and, at the sight of the cross comforteth his soul with

Pity. The true beholding of the sign of the cross.

[2 "Which two things [going on pilgrimages and necromancer's circles,] if ye would resemble together, so might ye blaspheme and have in derision all the devout rites and ceremonies of the church, both in the divine services, as incensing, hallowing of the fire, of the fount, of the paschal lamb, and over that the exorcisms, benedictions, and holy strange gestures, used in consecration or ministration of the blessed sacraments; all which holy things, great part whereof was from hand to hand left in the church, from the time of Christ's apostles, and by them left unto us, as it was by God taught unto them, men might, &c." M. Works, p. 121.]

[3 So C. U. L. ed. Daye omits *Christ*.]

the consolation of him that died thereon. But there is no sight, whether of the cross, or aught else, that can move you to leave your wickedness; for the testament of God is not written in your hearts.

The church is a place of prayer.

God heareth our prayer in all places.

And when he speaketh of praying at church; who denieth him, that men might not pray at church, or that the church should not be a place of prayer? But that a man could not pray save at church, and that my prayers were not heard as well elsewhere, if I prayed with like ferventness and strong faith, is a false lie.

Acts xvii.

Acts vii. 1 Kings viii.

And when he speaketh of the presence of God in the temple; I answer, that the prophets testified how that he dwelt not there; and so doth Paul (Acts xvii.); and so doth Stephen (Acts vii.); and Solomon, iii. of the Kings viii. And no doubt, as the mad Jews meant, he dwelt not there; nor as we, more mad, suppose also: but he dwelled there only in his signs, sacraments, and testimonies; which preached his word unto the people. And finally, for their false confidence in the temple God destroyed it: and no doubt for our false faith, in visiting the monuments of Christ, therefore hath God also destroyed them, and given the place under the infidels.

Jerusalem and the temple is destroyed.

The pillar of fire.

And when he speaketh of the pillar of fire and cloud, I answer, that God was no otherwise present there than in all fire and in all clouds; save that he shewed his power there specially, by the reason of the miracle, as he doth in the eyes of the blind, whom he maketh see, and yet is no otherwise present in those eyes than in other, nor more there to be prayed to than in other. And in like manner he is no more to be prayed to, where he doth a miracle, than where he doth none. Neither though we cannot but be in some place, ought we to seek God in any place, save only in our hearts, and that in verity, in faith, hope, and love or charity, according to the word of his doctrine.

God is present in all places alike.

And our sacraments, signs, ceremonies, images, relics and monuments, ought to be had in reverence, so far forth as they put us in mind of God's word, and of the ensample of them that lived thereafter; and no farther.

All places are to be preferred,

And the place is to be sought, and one to be preferred before another, for quietness to pray, and for lively preaching,

and for the preaching of such monuments, and so forth. And so long as the people so used them in the old Testament, they were acceptable and pleasant to God; and God was said to dwell in the temple. But when, the significations being lost, the people worshipped such things for the things' selves, as we now do, they were abominable to God; and God was said to be no longer in the temple.

where we may worship God most quietly.

The Fourth Chapter.

And in the fourth he saith, that "God setteth more by one place than another[1]." Which doctrine, besides that it should bind us unto the place, and God thereto, and cannot but make us have confidence in the place, is yet false. For first, God, unto whose word we may add nought, hath given no such commandment, nor made any such covenant. Neither is Christ here or there, saith the scripture; but in our hearts is the place where God dwelleth, by his own testimony, if his word be there.

M. More teacheth false doctrine.

Matt. xxiv.

And when he proveth it, because God doth a miracle more in one place than in another; I answer, if God will do a miracle, it requireth a place to be done in. Howbeit he doth it not for the place, but for the people's sakes, whom he would call unto the knowledge of his name; and not to worship him more in one place than in another. As the miracles done in Egypt, in the Red Sea, in mount Sinai, and so forth, were not done that men should go in pilgrimage unto the places, to pray there; but to provoke them unto the true knowledge of God; that afterward they might ever pray in the Spirit, wheresoever they were. Christ also did not his miracles that men should pray in the places where he did them, but to stir up the people to come and hear the word of their souls' health. And when he bringeth the

Miracles were not done for the place, but for the people.

[1 The fourth chapter begins as follows: "With that your friend asked me, what reason were there that God would set more by one place than another; or how know we that he so doth, namely if the one be a church as well as the other? Whereunto I answered,—I was never so near of his counsel, nor dare not be so bold to ask him. But that he so doth in deed, that I am sure enough; yet not for that he setteth more by that place for the soil and pavement of that place, but that his pleasure in some place is to shew more of his assistance, and to be more specially sought unto, than in some other."]

Siloam. John v. & ix

miracle of Siloe[1], I answer, that the said miracle, and that Christ sent the blind thither to receive his sight, were not done that men should pray in the pool: but the second miracle was so done, to declare the obedient faith of the blind, and to make the miracle more known; and the first, for the word of God that was preached in the temple, to move the country about to come thither, and learn to know God, and to become a lively temple, out of which they might ever pray, and in all places. Neither was the miracle of Lazarus done, that men should more pray in that place than in another, but to shew Christ's power, and to move the people, through wondering at the miracle, to hearken unto God's word and believe it, as it is to see plainly.

Miracles done to draw the people to hear the word of God.

All places must serve man, and not man bound to serve any place.

Moreover God so loveth no church, but that the parish have liberty to take it down, and to build it in another place: yea, and if it be timber, to make it of stone, and to alter it at their pleasure. For the places, yea, and the images must serve us, and not God, which is a Spirit, and careth for none more than other, nor is otherwise present in one place than in another. And likewise is it of saints' bones: we may remove them whither we will, yea, and break all images thereto, and make new, or if they be abused, put them out of the way for ever, as was the brasen serpent; so that we be lords over all such things, and they our servants. For if the saints were our servants, how much more their bones!

God is worshipped in our hearts, and not in any other place.

It is the heart, and not the place, that worshippeth God. The kitchen-page, turning the spit, may have a purer heart to God than his master at church; and therefore worship God better in the kitchen than his master at church. But when will M. More be able to prove, that miracles done at saints' tombs were done that we should pray unto the saints; or that miracles done by dead saints, which alive neither preached God's word nor could do miracle, are done of God?

The father careth most for the youngest.

God loveth none angel in heaven better than the greatest sinner in earth, that repenteth and believeth in Christ; but contrariwise careth most for the weakest, and maketh all

Eph. iv.

that be perfect their servants; until, as Paul saith (Eph. iv.) they be grown up in the knowledge of God into a perfect man, and into the measure of age of the fulness of Christ;

[1 Tyndale has assumed that the pool of Bethesda, and the waters of Siloam, were the same.]

that is, that we know all the mysteries and secrets that God hath hid in Christ; that we be no more children, wavering with every wind of doctrine, through the subtilty and wiliness of men, that come upon us, to bring us into error or beguile us. So far it is off that he would have us kept down to serve images. For with bodily service we can serve nothing that is a spirit. And thereto, if it were possible that all the angels of heaven could be mine enemies, yet would I hold me by the testament that my merciful and true Father hath made me in the blood of my Saviour, and so come unto all that is promised me, and Christ hath purchased for me, and give not a straw for them all.

God cannot be served with bodily service.

The Fifth Chapter.

In the fifth chapter he falleth from all he hath so long sweat to prove; and believeth, not by the reason of the miracles, but by the common consent of the church, and that many so believe. This man is of a far other complexion than was the prophet Elias: for he believed alone, as he thought, against the consent, by all likelihood, of nine or ten hundred thousand believers. And yet M. More's church is in no other condition under the pope, than was that church, against whose consent Elias believed alone, under the kings of Samaria.

Our faith may be grounded upon men.

The Sixth Chapter.

In the sixth chapter, and unto the eighteenth, he proveth almost nought, save that which never man denied him, that miracles have been done. But how to know the true miracles from the false, were good to be known; which we shall this wise do, if we take those for true sacraments and ceremonies which preach us God's word, even so we count them true miracles only, which move us to hearken thereto.

All true miracles provoke us to faith and trust in God.

The Sixteenth Chapter[2].

Concerning his sixteenth chapter, of the maid of Ipswich, I answer, that Moses warned his Israelites that false miracles

The maid of Ipswich.

[2 Sir Thomas More's sixteenth chapter.

"The author sheweth that whoso would inquire should soon find that at pilgrimages be daily many great and undoubted miracles wrought and well known. And specially he speaketh of the great

should be done to prove them, whether their hearts were fast in the Lord. And even so Christ and the apostles shewed us before, that lying miracles should come to pervert the very elect, if it were possible. And therefore we must have a rule,

and open miracle shewed at our lady of Ipswich, of late, upon the daughter of sir Roger Wentworth, Knt."

"And as for the point that we spake of, concerning miracles done in our days at diverse images, where these pilgrimages be, yet could I tell you some such done so openly, so far from all cause of suspicion, and thereto testified in such sufficient wise, that he might seem almost mad that hearing the whole matter will mistrust the miracles. Among which I durst boldly tell you for one the wonderful work of God, that was within these few years wrought in the house of a right worshipful knight, sir Roger Wentworth, upon divers of his children, and specially one of his daughters, a very fair young gentlewoman, of twelve years of age, in marvellous manner vexed and tormented by our ghostly enemy, the devil, her mind alienated and raving, with despising and blaspheming of God, and hatred of all hallowed things, with knowledge and perceiving of the hallowed from the unhallowed, all were she nothing warned thereof; and after that moved in her own mind, and monished by the will of God, to go to our lady of Ipswich. In the way of which pilgrimage she prophesied and told many things, done and said at the same time in other places, which were proved true, and many things said, lying in her trance, of such wisdom and learning, that right cunning men highly marvelled to hear of so young an unlearned maiden, when herself wist not what she said, such things uttered and spoken, as well learned men might have missed with a long study; and finally being brought and laid before the image of our blessed lady, was there, in the sight of many worshipful people, so grievously tormented, and in face, eyes, look, and countenance, so grisly changed, with her mouth drawn aside, and her eyes laid out upon her cheeks, that it was a terrible sight to behold. And after many marvellous things, at the same time shewed upon divers persons by the devil, through God's sufferance, as well all the remnant as the maiden herself, in the presence of all the company, restored to their good state, perfectly cured and suddenly. And in this matter no pretext of begging, no suspicion of feigning, no possibility of counterfeiting, no simpleness in the seers, her father and mother right honourable and rich, sore abashed to see such chances in their children, the witnesses great number, and many of great worship, wisdom, and good experience, the maid herself too young to feign. And the end of the matter virtuous, the virgin so moved in her mind with the miracle, that she forthwith, for aught her father could do, forsook the world and professed religion in a very good and godly company at the Minories, where she hath lived well and graciously ever since."]

to know the true miracles from the false; or else it were impossible that any man should escape undeceived, and continue in the true way. And other rule than this is there not: that the true are done to provoke men to come and hearken unto God's word; and the false, to confirm doctrine that is not God's word. Now it is not God's word, if thou read all the scripture throughout, but contrary thereto, that we should put such trust and confidence in our blessed lady as we do; and clean against the testament that is in Christ's blood. Wherefore a man need not to fear to pronounce that the devil did it, to mock us withal.

True miracles are done to provoke us to the hearing of God's word; and the false do the contrary.

Nevertheless, let us compare the maid of Ipswich and the maid of Kent[1] together. First, they say that the maid of Ipswich was possessed with a devil, and the maid of Kent with the Holy Ghost. And yet the tragedies are so like the one to the other in all points, that thou couldest not know the Holy Ghost to be in the one, and the devil in the other, by any difference of works; but that thou mightest with as good reason say that the devil was in both, or the Holy Ghost in both; or the devil in the maid of Kent, and the Holy Ghost in the maid of Ipswich. For they were both in like trances; both ravished from themselves; both tormented alike; both disfigured; like terrible ugly and grisly in sight, and their mouths drawn aside, even unto the very ears of them; both inspired; both preach; both tell of wonders; will be both carried unto our lady; and are both certified by revelation, that our lady in those places, and before those images, should deliver them.

The maid of Kent.

The maid of Ipswich, and the maid of Kent, were both false dissembling harlots.

Now as for the maid of Ipswich, she was possessed of the devil by their own confession: whence then came that revelation, that she should be holp, and all her holy preaching? If of the devil, then was the miracle and all of the devil: if of the Holy Ghost, then was she inspired with the Holy Ghost, and had the devil within her, both at once. And inasmuch

The maid of Kent.

[1] Elizabeth Barton, a nun, called for a while "The holy maid of Kent," was executed as a self-convicted impostor, in little more than three years after Tyndale's penning this paragraph. For accounts of her pretended visions, and of the difficulties in which More involved himself by consulting her, the reader may look at Strype's Eccles. Mem. Vol. I. chap. 25. Burnet's Hist. of Reform. B. II. Jenkyns' Remains of Cranmer, Vol. I. Letters lxxxii. and lxxxiv. and Anderson's Annals, B. I. § xi.]

as the maid of Kent was inspired by the Holy Ghost, by their confession; whence came that stopping of her throat, that raving, those grievous pangs, that tormenting, disfiguring, drawing of her mouth awry, and that fearful and terrible countenance? If of the Holy Ghost, and then why not the revel and gambols of the maid of Ipswich also? And then what matter maketh it, whether a man have the devil or the Holy Ghost in him? If ye say of the devil, then had she likewise both the devil and the Holy Ghost, both at once. Moreover, those possessed, which Christ helped, avoided Christ, and fled from him; so that other, which believed, were fain to bring them unto him against their wills. For which causes, and many more that might be made, thou mayest conclude, that the devil vexed them and preached in them, to confirm feigned confession, and dumb ceremonies, and sacraments without signification, and damnable sects, and shewed them those revelations; and as soon as they were brought before our lady's image, departed out of them, to delude us, and to turn our faiths from Christ unto an old block: as we read in the legend of St Bartholomew, how the devils hurt men in their limbs, and as soon as they were brought into a certain temple before an idol, there they departed out of them, and so beguiled the people, making them believe that the idol had healed them of some natural diseases[1].

Such as were possessed with devils fled from Christ.

A false delusion, to bring us to idolatry.

St Bartholomew.

Howbeit let it be the Holy Ghost that was in the maid of Kent. Then, I pray you, what thing, worthy of so great praise, hath our lady done? Our lady hath delivered her of the Holy Ghost, and emptied her of much high learning, which, as a goodly poetess, she uttered in rhymes. For appose her now of Christ, as scripture testifieth of him, and thou shalt find her clean without rhyme or reason. The maid was at home also in heavenly pleasures; and our lady hath delivered her out of the joys of Orestes[2], and brought her into the miseries of middle earth again.

Our lady did the maid of Kent small pleasure.

Orestes.

[1 Ingressus Bartholomæus templum, in quo erat idolum Astaroth, quasi peregrinus ibi manere cœpit. In hoc idolo quidam dæmon habitabat, qui se languentes curare dicebat; sed non subveniebat sanando, sed homines primo lædendo, deinde a læsione cessando. Jussu apostoli dæmon confiteri cœpit, qualiter ad animarum proditionem populum ludificabat, eis illudens ut sic ipsum ut deum adorarent, et verum Deum cœli negarent.—P. de Natal. Catalog. Sanct. Argent. 1513. Lib. VII. cap. ciii.]

[2 That is, of the insane; as Orestes was according to Grecian story.]

The Seventeenth Chapter.

As for *Doulia*, *Hyperdoulia*, and *Latria*, though he shew not with which of them he worshipped the cardinal's hat, is answered unto him already.

The Eighteenth Chapter.

Traditions.

In the eighteenth, where he would fain prove that the pope's church cannot err, he allegeth things whereof he might be ashamed, if he were not past shame, to prove that the bishops have authority to lade us with traditions, neither profitable for soul nor body. He bringeth a false allegory upon the overplus that the Samaritan, if it were laid out, promised to pay when he came again, for the bishops' traditions[3]. Nay, M. More, besides that allegories, which every man may feign at his pleasure, can prove nothing, Christ interpreteth it himself; that it betokeneth a kind mind, and a loving neighbour, which so loved a stranger, that he never left caring for him, both absent as well as present, until he were full whole, and comen out of all necessity. It signifieth that the prelates, if they were true apostles, and loved us after the doctrine of Christ, would sell their mitres, crosses, plate, shrines, jewels and costly shews, to succour the poor, and not rob them of all that was offered unto them, as they have done; and to repair things fallen in decay and ruin in the commonwealth, and not to beggar the realms with false idolatry and image-

Allegories.

A true exposition of the parable of the Samaritan.

[3 In Chap. 18, of More's Dial. the objector expounds Matt. xxiii. 2, 3, as teaching us, "that christian men in like wise obey the bishop and prelates, commanding only such things as [Christ] himself hath commanded his people in his gospel and his own law." Upon which More says to him, "And in nothing else! What meaneth it then that our Lord, in the parable of the Samaritan, bearing the wounded man into the inn of his church, and delivering him to the host, after that he had himself dressed his wounds with wine and oil, and left with the host the two groats of the two testaments, promised the host beside that whatsoever the host would bestow upon him more, he would, when he came again, recompense him therefor?" p. 142. More intended that the meaning should be confessed to be that put upon this part of the parable by several Romanists; viz. that the promised supplementary gift for the healing of the souls left under the church's care signified the traditions which should gradually be brought to light.]

service, that they have not left them wherewith to bear the cost of the common charges.

And moreover, when the scribes and Pharisees taught their own doctrine, they sat not upon Moses's seat, but on their own. And therefore Christ (so far it is off that he would have us hearken unto man's doctrine) said, "Beware of the leaven of the scribes, Pharisees, and Sadducees," which is their doctrine; and rebuked them for their doctrine, and brake it himself, and taught his disciples so to do, and excused them; and said of all traditions, that whatsoever his heavenly Father had not planted, should be plucked up by the roots. And thereto all the persecution that the apostles had of the Jews, was for breaking of traditions.

All that God hath not planted, shall be plucked up by the roots.

Our prelates ought to be our servants, as the apostles were, to teach us Christ's doctrine; and not lords over us, to oppress us with their own. Peter calleth it tempting of the Holy Ghost (Acts xv.), to lade the heathen with aught above that which necessity and brotherly love required. And Paul rebuketh his Corinthians for their overmuch obedience, and the Galatians also; and warneth all men to stand fast, and not to suffer themselves to be brought into bondage.

Bishops should be servants, and not lords.

Acts xv.

And when he saith, Peter and Paul commanded us to obey our superiors; that is truth, they commanded us to obey the temporal sword, which the pope will not. And they commanded to obey the bishops in the doctrine of Christ, and not in their own. And we teach not to break all things rashly, (as M. More untruly reporteth on us); which is to be seen in our books, if men will look upon them. Of traditions therefore understand generally: He that may be free, is a fool to be bound; but if through wiliness thou be brought into bondage, then if the tradition hurt thy soul and the faith, they are to be broken immediately, though with the loss of thy life. If they grieve the body only, then are they to be borne till God take them off, for breaking the peace and unity.

The pope will not obey princes, though God have commanded him so to do.

Traditions.

Then how sore maketh he Christ's burden! If it be so sore, why is M. More so cruel to help the bishops to lade us with more? But surely he speaketh very undiscreetly. For Christ did not lade us with one syllable more than we were ever bound to; neither did he any thing but[1] interpret the

Christ's burden is easy and gentle.

[1] In C. U. L. ed. *Neither did he save interpret.*]

law truly. And besides that, he giveth unto all his love unto the law: which love maketh all things easy to be borne, that were before impossible.

And when he saith, "Ye be the salt of the earth," was spoken for the bishops and priests only, it is untrue; but it was spoken generally, unto all that believe and know the truth, that they should be salt unto the ignorant, and the perfecter unto the weaker, each to other, every man in his measure. And moreover, if it be spoken unto the prelates only, how fortuneth it that master More is so busy to salt the world with his high learning? And last of all the salt of our prelates, which is their traditions and ceremonies without signification, is unsavoury long ago; and therefore no more worth, but to be cast out at the doors, and to be trodden under foot.

Matt. v.

The salt of our prelates is unsavoury.

And that he saith, in the end, that a man may have a good faith with evil living, I have proved it a lie in another place. Moreover, faith, hope, and love, be three sisters: they never can depart[2] in this world; though in the world to come love shall swallow up the other two. Neither can the one be stronger, or weaker than the other; but as much as I believe, so much I love, and so much I hope, yea, and so much I work.

Faith, love, and charity, are three sisters.

The Nineteenth Chapter.

In the nineteenth he proveth that praying to saints is good; and miracles that confirm it are of God, or else the church, saith he, doth err. It followeth indeed, or that the pope's church erreth. And when he saith it is sin to believe too much[3]; I say, we had the more need to take heed what we believe, and to search God's word the more diligently, that we believe neither too much nor too little.

We must believe neither too much nor yet little.

And when he saith God is honoured by praying to saints, because it is done for his sake; I answer, if it sprang not out of a false faith, but of the love we have to God, then should we love God more. And, moreover, inasmuch as all our love to God springeth out of faith, we should believe and trust God. And then if our faith in God were greater than our

We are promised all things for our Saviour Christ's sake, and not for the saints'.

[2 That is, part, separate.]

[3 "Very well, quod I, then erreth he as much and as far lacketh his right belief, that believeth too much, as he that believeth too little." More's Dial. p. 145.]

fervent devotion to saints, we should pray to no saints at all, seeing we have promises of all things in our Saviour Jesus, and in the saints none at all.

The Twenty-fifth Chapter.

In the twenty-fifth how juggleth he[1], to prove that all that pertaineth unto the faith was not written; alleging John in the last [chapter], that the world could not contain the books, if all should be written. And John meaneth of the miracles which Jesus did, and not of the necessary points of the faith.

John xxi. M. C. cclviii–cclx.

The virginity of our lady. M. C. cclx—i.

And how bringeth he in the perpetual virginity of our lady, which, though it be never so true, is yet none article of our faith, to be saved by. But we believe it with a story faith, because we see no cause reasonable to think the contrary.

Pope. W. T.

And when he saith, many mysteries are yet to be opened, as the coming of antichrist; nay, verily, the babe is known well enough, and all the tokens spied in him, which the scripture describeth him by.

Paul's traditions were the doctrine of the gospel. M. C. cclxx.

And when he allegeth Paul's traditions to the Thessalonians[2], to prove his phantasy; I have answered Rochester in "The Obedience[3]," that his traditions were the gospel that he preached.

M. C. cclxii.

And when he allegeth Paul to the Corinthians[4]; I say that Paul never knew of this word *Mass*. Neither can man

[1 At these words More resumes the task of confuting Tyndale.]

[2 "St Paul commandeth the people of Thessalonica, in his epistle, to keep the traditions that he took them, either by his writing, or by his bare word. For the words that he said among them, our Lord had told them him for them." More, p. 160.]

[3 See Vol. I. p. 219.]

[4 "He writeth unto the Corinthians, that of the holy howsyll, the sacrament of the altar, he had shewed them the matter and the manner by mouth, as our Lord had himself taught it to him. And therefore no doubt is there, but that by the apostles was the church more fully taught of that matter, than ever was written in all the scripture. There was learned the manner and form of consecration. There was learned much of the mystical gestures and ceremonies used in the mass. And if any man doubt thereof, let him consider where should we else have the beginning of the water put with the wine into the calice. For well we note that scripture biddeth it not." More, p. 160.]

gather thereof any 'strange holy gestures,' but the plain contrary; and that there was no other use[5] there, than to break the bread among them at supper, as Christ did. And therefore he calleth it Christ's supper, and not mass. Christ's supper, and not mass.

"There was learned the manner of consecration." A great doubt; as though we could not gather of the scripture how to do it! "And of the water, that the priest mingleth with the wine." A great doubt also; and a perilous case, if it were left out! For either it was done to slake the heat of the wine, or put to after as a ceremony, to signify that as the water is changed into wine, so are we changed through faith as it were into Christ, and are one with him: howbeit all is to their own shame, that aught should be done or used among us Christen, whereof no man wist the meaning. For if I understand not the meaning, it helpeth me not, 1 Cor. xiv.; and as experience teacheth. But if our shepherds had been as well willing to feed as to shear, we had needed no such dispicience; nor they to have burnt so many as they have[6]. The consecration. M. C. cclxiii. Water mixed with the wine. M.C. cclxiv—vi. 1 Cor. xiv.

And as for that he allegeth out of the epistle of James, for the justifying of works, I have answered in the Mammon, against which he cannot hiss; and will speak more in the fourth book. Justification of works.

And as for the Saboth[7], a great matter, we be lords over the Saboth; and may yet change it into the Monday, or any other day, as we see need; or may make every tenth day holy day only, if we see a cause why. We may make two every week, if it were expedient, and one not enough to teach the people. Neither was there any cause to change it from the The sabbath-day, and holy days, are made for us, and not we for them. M. C. cclxvii. —cclxx.

[5 That is, custom.]

[6 More's comment goes on as follows: "Where Tyndale layeth that the slackness of feeding hath caused so many to be burned, I will not say Nay, but that it might have been better with some, if there had been used more diligence in preaching. But as for many such as have been burned, all the preaching in the world would not have holpen their obstinacy. But sure if the prelates had taken as good heed in time as they should have done, there should peradventure at length fewer have been burned thereby. *But there should have been more burned by a great many than there have been within this seven year last passed:* the lack whereof, I fear me, will make more burned within this seven year next coming, than else should have needed to have been burned in seven score."]

[7 Tyndale has spelt this word Saboth; More has spelt it Sabbaoth.]

Saturday, than to put difference between us and the Jews; and lest we should become servants unto the day, after their superstition. Neither needed we any holy day at all, if the people might be taught without it[1].

Why women baptize.

And when he asketh, by what scripture we know that a woman may christen? I answer, if baptism be so necessary as they make it, then, 'Love thy neighbour as thyself,' doth teach women to baptize in time of need; yea and to teach, and to rule their husbands too, if they be beside themselves.

And when he saith that, of likelihood, the lay people understood the gospel of John and Paul's epistles better than great clerks now; I answer, the more shame is theirs. Howbeit there be two causes why: the one is their diligent shearing; and another, they deny the justifying of faith, whereof both Paul and John do entreat, and almost of nothing else. If the signification of our baptism, which is the law of God and faith of Christ, were expounded truly unto us, the scripture would be easy to all that exercised themselves therein. And, sir, inasmuch as the prelates care so little for the loss of the understanding of the scripture and to teach the people, how happeneth it that they care so sore for a bald ceremony; which, the signification lost, though Christ himself had institute it, we could not observe without a false faith and without hurting of our souls?

Why the prelates understand not the scripture.

A good tale, if it were long enough.

And, finally, to rock us asleep withal, he saith, that he shall never speed well that will seek in the scripture whether our prelates teach us a true faith; though ten preach, each contrary to other, in one day. And yet Christ, for all his miracles, sendeth us to the scripture. And for all Paul's miracles, the Jews studied the scripture the diligenterly, to see whether it were as he said or no. Howbeit he meaneth that such cannot speed well, because the prelates will burn them; except M. More help them, and make them forswear Christ beforehand.

Ye cannot speed well, if ye try the doctrine of our prelates by the scripture.

The Twenty-seventh Chapter.

In the twenty-seventh he bringeth Paul exhorting to agree, and to tell all one tale in the faith; which cannot be,

[1 From this paragraph More turns back to one left unnoticed in the previous page; and then digresses to criticise four passages in the Obedience, in Confut. cclxxi-vi.]

saith master More, except one believe by the reason of another. Yes verily, we all believe the fire is hot, and yet not by the reason of another; and that with a much[2] surer knowledge than if we believed it by the one telling of another. And even so they that have the law of God written in their hearts, and are taught of the Spirit to know sin and to abhor it, and to feel the power of the resurrection of Christ, believe much surer than they that have none other certainty of their faith than the pope's preaching, confirmed with so godly living.

All believe in God, that have the law written in their hearts.

And it is not unknown to M. More, that the churches of late days, and the churches now being, have determined things, in one case, the one contrary to the other; in such wise that he cannot deny but the one hath, or doth err: the which case I could shew him, if I so were minded. The old popes, cardinals, and bishops, said Yea, to the thing that I mean; whereunto these that now reign, say Nay. Now, sir, if you gather a general council for the matter, the churches of France and Italy will not believe the churches of Spain and Dutchland, because they so say; but will ask how they prove it? Neither will Lovain believe Paris, because they say they cannot err; but will hear first their probation. Also, how shall we know that the old pope and his prelates erred, because these that are now so say? When the old pope lived, we were as much bound to believe that he could not err, as we be now that this cannot: wherefore you must grant me, that God must shew a miracle for the one part, or else he must bring authentic scripture.

The church must shew a reason of their doctrine. W. T.

Popes may not be believed without scripture.

Now, sir, God hath made his last and everlasting testament[3], and no more behind than the appearing of Christ again. Because all is done save the doom[4]; and because God will not stir up every day a new prophet with a new miracle, to confirm new doctrine, or to call again the old that was forgotten; therefore were all things necessary to salvation comprehended in scripture ever to endure. By which scripture the councils general, and not by open miracles, have

M. C. cclxxxi, cclxxxiii. Id. cclxxxiv.

Councils ought to conclude according to the scriptures.

[2 So C. U. L. ed.]

[3 In Day's edition the words *so that all is open* occur here; but they do not appear in More's quotation, and seem as if added by one who did not duly consider that by the word testament Tyndale here means God's covenant.]

[4 The clause, *Because all is done save the doom*, is supplied from More's quotation.]

M. C. cclxxxv. M. C. cclxxxvi.

concluded such things as were in them determined, as stories make mention. And by the same scripture we know which councils were true, and which false. And by the same scripture shall we, if any new question arise, determine it also.

Luke xvi. M. C. cclxxxvii, viii.

Abraham answered the rich man, "They have Moses and the prophets, let them hear them;" and said not, 'They have the scribes and the Pharisees, whom they should hear preaching out of the seat of their own doctrine,' without scripture.

Luke x. Matt. xviii. M. C. cclxxxix.

And when he allegeth, "He that heareth you heareth me, and if any man hear not the church, take him for an heathen," concluding that we must believe whosoever is shaven, in all that he affirmeth, without scripture or miracle; I would fain know in what figure that syllogismus is made. Christ's disciples taught Christ's doctrine; confirming it with miracles, that it might be known for God's, and not theirs. And even so must the church, that I will believe, shew a miracle, or bring authentic scripture that is come from the apostles, which confirmed it with miracles[1].

M. C. ccxc. to the end of the Confutation.

The Twenty-ninth Chapter.

M. C. cclxxvii.

In the twenty-ninth he allegeth, that Christ said not the Holy Ghost shall write, but shall teach. It is not the use to say the Holy Ghost writeth, but inspireth the writer. I marvel that he had not brought, as many of his brethren do, Matthew in the last, where Christ commanded the apostles "Go and teach all nations," and said not, 'Write.' I answer, that this precept, 'Love thy neighbour as thyself, and God above all thing,' went with the apostles; and compelled them to seek God's honour in us, and to seek all means to continue the faith unto the world's end. Now the apostles knew before that heresies should come, and therefore wrote, that it might be a remedy against heresies, as it well appeareth, John xx.,

M. C. cclxxviii.

Matt. xxviii.

M. C. cclxxix —cclxxxi. The cause why the apostles wrote the gospels.

John xx.

[1 In reply to this Sir Thomas More says: "I say that the catholic church bringeth miracles for their doctrine, as the apostles did for theirs, in that God ceaseth no year to work miracles in his catholic church, many and wonderful, both for his holy men quick and dead, and for the doctrine that these heretics impugn, as images, relics, and pilgrimages, and the blessed sacrament of the altar: and these so many, and in so many places, that these heretics themself can not deny it; but are shamefully driven to say, like the Jews, that it is the devil that doth them." M. C. ccxci.]

where he saith, "These are written, that ye believe, and through belief have life." And in the second of his first epistle he saith, "These I write because of them that deceive you." And Paul, and Peter thereto, warn us in many places. Wherefore it is manifest that the same love compelled them to leave nothing unwritten, that should be necessarily required, and that, if it were left out, should hurt the soul. 1 John ii.

The pope and his cardinals erred in king Henry the Eighth's case.

And in the last chapter, to make all fast, he bringeth in the king's grace, how he confuted Martin Luther with this conclusion, 'The church cannot err[2]:' whereunto I will make none answer, for fear to displease his grace; nevertheless because Martin could not soyl it, if his grace look well upon the matter, he shall find that God hath assoyled it for him in a case of his own[3].

M. More's conclusion.

And upon that M. More concludeth his first book, that whatsoever the church, that is to wit, the pope and his brood, say, it is God's word, though it be not written, nor confirmed with miracle, nor yet good living; yea, and though they say to-day this, and to-morrow the contrary, all is good enough and God's word; yea, and though one pope condemn another (nine or ten popes a row) with all their works for heretics, as it is to see in the stories, yet all is right, and none error[4].

[2 The heading of the last chapter of B. I. of More's Dialogue is, "In that the church cannot err in the choice of the true scripture, the author proveth by the reason which the king's highness, in his noble and most famous book, objecteth against Luther, that the church cannot err in the necessary understanding of scripture."]

[3 By the time Tyndale wrote this the king had been led, in the providence of God, to dispute the authority of papal decisions.]

[4 More's conclusion is expressed by himself as follows, in the same chapter: "Then are ye, quod I, also fully answered in this, that where ye said ye should not believe the church telling you a tale of their own, but only telling you scripture, ye now perceive that in such things as we speak of, that is to wit, necessary points of our faith, if they tell you a tale, which if it were false were damnable, ye must believe and may be sure that, sith the church cannot in such things err, it is very true all that the church in such things telleth you; and that it is not their own word, but the word of God, though it be not in scripture. That appeareth well, quod he. Then are ye, quod I, as fully satisfied that where ye lately said that it were a disobedience to God, preferring of the church before himself, if he shall believe the church in such things as God in his holy scripture sayeth himself the contrary, ye now perceive it can in no wise be so. But sith

And thus good night and good rest! Christ is brought asleep, and laid in his grave; and the door sealed to; and the men of arms about the grave to keep him down with pole-axes. For that is the surest argument, to help at need, and to be rid of these babbling heretics, that so bark at the holy spiritualty with the scripture, being thereto wretches of no reputation, neither cardinals, nor bishops, nor yet great beneficed men; yea, and without tot quots and pluralities, having no hold but the very scripture, whereunto they cleave as burs, so fast that they cannot be pulled away, save with very singeing them off.

The surest way to oppress true doctrine, is to lay the preachers fast.

A sure token that the pope is antichrist.

The pope is antichrist.

And though unto all the arguments and persuasions which he would blind us with, to believe that the pope with his sect were the right church, and that God, for the multitude, will not suffer them err, we were so simple that we saw not the subtility of the arguments, nor had words to solve them with, but our bare faith in our hearts; yet we be sure, and so sure that we can therein not be deceived, and do both feel and see, that the conclusion is false, and the contrary true.

2 Pet. ii.

For first Peter saith (2 Pet. ii.), "There shall be false teachers among you which shall secretly bring in damnable sects, denying the Lord that bought them; and many shall follow their damnable ways, by whom the way of truth shall be evil spoken of, and with feigned words they shall make merchandise over you." "Now," saith Paul (Rom. iii.), "the law speaketh unto them that are under the law." And even so this is spoken of them that profess the name of Christ.

Rom. iii.

his church, in such things as we speak of, cannot err, it is impossible that the scripture of God can be contrary to the faith of the church. That is very true, quod he. Then it is as true, quod I, that ye be further fully answered in the principal point, that the scriptures laid against images, and pilgrimages, and worship of saints, make nothing against them. And also that those things, images I mean and pilgrimages, and praying to saints, are things good, and to be had in honour in Christ's church, sith the church believeth so; which as ye grant, and see cause why ye should grant, can in such points not be suffered, for the special assistance and instruction of the Holy Ghost, to fall into error. And so be we, for this matter, at last, with much work, come to an end." Sir T. More's Works, p. 176.]

Now the pope hath ten thousand sects eropen in, as pied in their consciences as in their coats, setting up a thousand manner works to be saved by; which is the denying of Christ: and we see many, and almost all together, follow their damnable ways. And in that Peter said that they shall rail and blaspheme the truth, it followeth that there shall be a little flock reserved, by the hand of God, to testify the truth unto them; or else how could they rail on it? And it followeth that those railers shall be the mightier part in the world, or else they durst not do it. Now what truth in Christ doth not the pope rebuke, and, in setting up false works, deny altogether? And as for their feigned words, where findest thou in all the scripture purgatory, shrift, penance, pardon, *pœna, culpa, hyperdoulia,* and a thousand feigned terms more? And as for their merchandise, look whether they sell not all God's laws, and also their own, and all sin, and all Christ's merits, and all that a man can think. To one he selleth the fault only; and to another the fault and the pain too[1]; and purgeth his purse of his money, and his brains of his wits, and maketh him so beastly that he can understand no godly thing.

A swarm of sects set up by the pope.

The pope, by setting up of false works, denieth the truth of God's word.

The pope selleth sin and pain, and all that can be sold.

And Christ saith (Matt. xxiv.), "There shall false anointed arise, and shew signs and wonders:" that is, they shall shew miracles, and so prevail that, if it were possible, the elect should be brought out of the true way. And these false anointed, by the same rule of Paul, and in that Christ saith also that they shall come in his name, must be in the church of Christ, and of them that shall call themselves Christen, and shall shew their wonders before the elect, and be a sore temptation unto them, to bring them out of the way. And the elect, which are few in comparison of them that be called and come feignedly, shall among that great multitude be kept by the mighty hand of God against all natural possibility. So that the church and very elect shall never be such a multitude together by themselves, without persecution and temptation of their faith, as the great multitude under the pope is, which persecute and suffer not. And these which the pope calleth heretics, shew no miracles, by their own confession; neither ought they, inasmuch as they bring no new learning,

Matt. xxiv.

The popish church are persecutors, but no sufferers.

[1 That is, to some he sells exemptions *a culpa* only, and to others *a pœna et culpa*.]

nor aught save the scripture, which is already received and confirmed with miracles. Christ also promiseth us nought in this world, save persecution for our faith. And the stories of the old Testament are also by Paul, 1 Cor. x., our ensamples. And there, though God at a time called with miracles a great multitude, yet the very chosen that received the faith in their hearts, to put their trust in God alone, and which endureth in temptations, were but few, and ever oppressed of their false brethren, and persecuted unto the death, and driven unto corners.

1 Cor. x.

The church of Christ is ever persecuted.

2 Thess. ii.

And when Paul (2 Thess. ii.) saith that antichrist's coming shall be by the working of Satan with all power, signs and wonders of falsehood, and all deceivableness for them that perish, because they conceived not love unto the truth, to be saved by; and therefore shall God send them strong delusion, or guile, to believe lies; the text must also pertain unto a multitude gathered together in Christ's name, of which one part, and no doubt the greater, for lack of love unto the truth that is in Christ, to live thereafter, shall fall into sects, and a false faith under the name of Christ, and shall be indurate and stablished therein with false miracles, to perish for their unkindness. The pope first hath no scripture that he dare abide by, in the light; neither careth, but blasphemeth that his word is truer than the scripture. He hath miracles without God's word, as all false prophets had. He hath lies in all his legends, in all preachings, and in all books. They have no love unto the truth; which appeareth by their great sins that they have set up, above all the abomination of all the heathen that ever were, and by their long continuance therein, not of frailty, but of malice unto the truth, and of obstinate lust and self-will to sin. Which appeareth in two things: the one, that they have gotten them with wiles and falsehood from under all laws of man, and even above king and emperor, that no man should constrain their bodies and bring them unto better order, that they may sin freely without fear of man; and on the other side, they have brought God's word asleep, that it should not unquiet their consciences, insomuch that if any man rebuke them with that, they persecute him immediately, and pose him in their false doctrine, and make him an heretic, and burn him and quench it.

The church of antichrist is the false church, and ever the greater number.

The pope is a devilish blasphemer of God.

The pope is above king and emperor.

The pope persecuteth the word of God.

And Paul saith, (2 Tim. iii.) "In the latter days there

shall be perilous times. For there shall be men that love themselves, covetous, high-minded, proud, railers, disobedient to father and mother, unthankful, ungodly, churlish, promise-breakers, accusers, or pick-quarrels, unloving, despisers of the good, traitors, heady, puffed up, and that love lusts more than God, having an appearance of godliness, but denying the power thereof." And by "power" I understand the pure faith in God's word; which is the power and pith of all godliness, and whence all that pleaseth God springeth. And this text pertaineth unto them that profess Christ. And in that he saith, "having an appearance of godliness," and of that followeth in the text, "Of this sort are they that enter into men's houses, and lead women captive laden with sin, ever asking and never able to attain unto the truth" (as our hearers of confessions do); it appeareth that they be such as will be holier than other, and teachers and leaders of the rest. And look whether there be here any syllable that agreeth not unto our spiritualty in the highest degree. Love they not themselves, their own decrees and ordinances, their own lies and dreams, and despise all laws of God and man, regarding no man but them only that be disguised as they be? And as for their covetousness, which all the world is not able to satisfy, tell me what it is that they make not serve it: insomuch that, if God punish the world with an evil pock, they immediately paint a block and call it Job, to heal the disease, instead of warning the people to mend their living. And as for their high mind and pride, see whether they be not above kings, and emperor, and all the names of God; and whether any man may come to bear rule in this world, except he be sworn to them, and come up under them.

2 Tim. iii. St Paul describeth the pope and his in their colours.

God's word is the power and pith of all goodness.

Confession.

Love of themselves.

Covetous.

High minded. Proud.

And as for their railing, look in their excommunication, and see whether they spare king, or emperor, or the testament of God. And as for obedience to father and mother, nay, they be immediately under God and his holy vicar the pope; he is their father, and on his ceremonies they must wait. And as for unthankful, they be so kind, that if they have received a thousand pound land of a man, yet for all that they would not receive one of his offspring unto a night's harbour, at his need, for their founder's sake. And whether they be ungodly or no, I report me unto the parchment[1].

Railers.

Disobedient.

Unthankful.

Ungodly.

[1 In these words Tyndale evidently refers to that document,

Churlish. And as for churlishness, see whether they will not have their causes venged, though it should cost whole regions, yea, and all Christendom, as ye shall see, and as it hath cost half Christendom already. And as for their promise or truce-breaking, see whether any appointment may endure for their dispensations, be it never so lawful, though the sacrament were received for confirmation. And see whether they have not broken all the appointments made between them and their founders. And see whether they be not accusers, and traitors also, of all men, and that secretly, and of their very own kings and of their own nation. And as for their headiness, see whether they be not prone, bold, and run headlong into all mischief, without pity or compassion, or caring what misery and destruction should fall on other men, so they may have their present pleasure fulfilled. And see whether they love not their lusts, that they will not be refrained from them, either by any law of God or man. And as for their appearance of godliness, see whether all be not God's service that they feign; and see whether not almost all consciences be captive thereto.

Promise-breakers.

Accusers.

Heady.

Loving lusts.

Appearance of godliness.

The pope and his are mighty jugglers.

And it followeth in the text, as the sorcerers of Egypt resisted Moses, so resisted they the truth. They must be therefore mighty jugglers. And to point the popish with the finger he saith, "Men are they with corrupt minds, and castaways concerning faith;" that is, they be so fleshly-minded, so crooked, so stubborn, and so monstrous shapen, that they can receive no fashion to stand in any building that is grounded upon faith: but when thou hast turned them all ways, and done thy best to hew them and to make them frame, thou must be fain to cast them out with the Turks and Jews, to serve God with the image-service of their own false works.

Of these and such like texts, and of the similitudes that Christ maketh in the gospel of the kingdom of heaven, it appeareth that though the Holy Ghost be in the chosen, and teacheth them all truth in Christ, to put their trust in him,

"on eight skins of parchment," of which an account has been given in Vol. I. pp. 35, 36. The ungodly temper of those who dictated it would seem to Tyndale sufficiently conspicuous, from what they had dared to say respecting the consequences likely to follow the reading of the word of God.]

so that they cannot err therein; yet, while the world standeth, God shall never have a church that shall either persecute, or be unpersecuted themselves any season, after the fashion of the pope. But there shall be in the church a fleshly seed of Abraham and a spiritual; a Cain and an Abel; an Ishmael and an Isaac; an Esau and a Jacob; as I have said, a worker and a believer; a great multitude of them that be called, and a small flock of them that be elect and chosen. And the fleshly shall persecute the spiritual; as Cain did Abel, and Ishmael Isaac, and so forth; and the great multitude shall persecute the small little flock, and antichrist will be ever the best christian man.

In the church shall there be for ever both good and evil.

So now the church of God is double, a fleshly and a spiritual: the one will be, and is not; the other is, and may not be so called, but must be called a Lutheran, an heretic, and such like. Understand therefore, that God, when he calleth a congregation unto his name, sendeth forth his messengers to call generally; which messengers bring in a great multitude, amazed and astonied with miracles and power of the reasons which the preachers make, and therewith be compelled to confess that there is but one God, of power and might above all, and that Christ is God and man, and born of a virgin, and a thousand other things. And then the great multitude that is called and not chosen, when they have gotten this faith, common as well to the devils as them, and more strongly persuaded unto the devils than unto them, then they go unto their own imaginations, saying, 'We may no longer serve idols, but God that is but one.' And the manner of service they fetch out of their own brains, and not of the word of God; and serve God with bodily service, as they did in times past their idols, their hearts serving their own lusts still. And one will serve him in white; another in black; another in grey; and another in pied. And another, to do God a pleasure withal, will be sure that his shoe shall have two or three good thick soles under, and will cut him above, so that in summer, while the weather is hot, thou mayest see his bare foot, and in winter his sock. They will be shorn and shaven, and Sadducees, that is to say, righteous[1]; and Pharisees,

This word church is taken two manner ways. W. T.

The spiritual church of God are called Lutherans and heretics.

The fleshly church serve God with works of their own.

Friars.

The blasing of hypocrites.

[1 This is an allusion to the opinion which derived their name from the Hebrew צַדִּיקִים, contrary to the ordinarily received opinion,

that is, separated in fashions from all other men[1]. Yea, and they will consecrate themselves altogether unto God, and will anoint their hands, and hallow them as the chalice, from all manner lay uses: so that they may serve neither father nor mother, master, lord or prince, for polluting themselves; but must wait on God only, to gather up his rents, tithes, offerings, and all other duties. And all the sacrifice that come they consume in the altar of their bellies, and make Calil of it; that is, a sacrifice that no man may have part of[2]. They believe that there is a God; but as they cannot love his laws, so they have no power to believe in him. But they put their trust and confidence in their own works, and by their own works they will be saved; as the rich of this world, when they sue unto great men, hope with gifts and presents to obtain their causes. Neither other serving of God know they, save such as their eyes may see, and their bellies feel. And of very zeal they will be God's vicars, and prescribe a manner unto other, and after what fashion they shall serve God, and compel them thereto, for the avoiding of idolatry, as thou seest in the Pharisees.

Calil is a sacrifice that no man may have any part thereof.

But little flock, as soon as he is persuaded that there is a God, he runneth not unto his own imaginations, but unto the messenger that called him, and of him asketh how he shall serve God: as little Paul (Acts ix.), when Christ had overthrown him, and caught him in his net, asked, saying, "Lord, what wilt thou that I do?" and as the multitude that were converted (Acts ii.) asked of the apostles, what they should do. And the preacher setteth the law of God before them; and they offer their hearts, to have it written therein, consenting that it is good and righteous. And because they have run clean contrary unto that good law, they sorrow and mourn; and because, also, their bodies and flesh are otherwise disposed. But the preacher comforteth them, and sheweth them the testament of Christ's blood; how that for his sake all that is done is forgiven, and all their weakness

The small flock of Christ cometh to the word and promises of God. Acts ix.

Acts ii.

Christ only is the perfect comforter of the Christian.

that they were named after one Sadoc, a disciple of Antigonus of Socho, who died about 263 B. C.]

[1 Pharisees; פְּרוּשִׁים, from פָּרוּשׁ, *separated*, as Tyndale says, from other men.]

[2 כָּלִיל, Calil, the *complete whole;* and thence a whole burnt-offering.]

shall be taken a worth, until they be stronger, only if they repent, and will submit themselves to be scholars, and learn to keep this law. And little flock receiveth this testament in his heart, and in it walketh and serveth God in the spirit. And from henceforth all is Christ with him; and Christ is his, and he is Christ's. All that he receiveth he receiveth of Christ, and all that he doth he doth to Christ. Father, mother, master, lord and prince, are Christ unto him; and as Christ he serveth them, with all love. His wife, children, servants and subjects, are Christ unto him; and he teacheth them to serve Christ, and not himself and his lusts. And if he receive any good thing of man, he thanketh God in Christ, which moved the man's heart. And his neighbour he serveth as Christ in all his need, of such things as God hath lent; because that all degrees are bought, as he is, with Christ's blood. And he will not be saved for serving his brethren; neither promiseth his brethren heaven for serving him. But heaven, justifying, forgiveness, all gifts of grace, and all that is promised them, they receive of Christ, and by his merits freely. And of that which they have received of Christ, they serve each other freely, as one hand doth the other; seeking for their service no more than one hand doth of another, each the other's health, wealth, help, aid, succour, and to assist one another in the way of Christ. And God they serve in the spirit only, in love, hope, faith and dread.

The christian man in all things seeketh the honour of Christ.

The Christian seeketh his salvation only in Christ.

When the great multitude, that be called and not chosen, Cain, Ishmael, Esau, and carnal Israel, that serve God night and day with bodily service and holy works, such as they were wont to serve their idols withal, behold little flock, that they come not forth in the service of God, they roar out, 'Where art thou? Why comest thou not forth and takest holy water?' 'Wherefore?' saith little flock. 'To put away thy sins.' 'Nay, brethren, God forbid that ye should so think; Christ's blood only washeth away the sins of all that repent and believe. Fire, salt, water, bread, and oil be bodily things, given unto man for his necessity, and to help his brother with; and God that is a spirit cannot be served therewith: neither can such things enter into the soul, to purge her; for God's word only is her purgation.' 'No!' say they, 'are not such things hallowed? and say we not in the hallowing of them, that whosoever is sprinkled with the water, or eateth of the

A pretty antithesis between the pope's church and Christ's little flock.

The popish church answereth.

bread, shall receive health of soul and body?' 'Sir, the blessings promised unto Abraham, for all nations, are in Christ; and out of his blood we must fetch them, and his word is the bread, salt, and water of our souls. God hath given you no power to give, through your charms, such virtue unto unsensible creatures, which he hath hallowed himself, and made them all clean (for the bodily use of them that believe) through his word of promise and permission, and our thanksgiving. God saith, If thou believe St John's gospel, thou shalt be saved; and not for the bearing of it about thee with so many crosses, or for the observing of any such observances.'

The little flock.

The pope's church.

'God, for thy bitter passion,' roar they out by and by, 'what an heretic is this! I tell thee that holy church need to allege no scripture for them; for they have the Holy Ghost, which inspireth them ever secretly, so that they cannot err, whatsoever they say, do, or ordain. What, wilt thou despise the blessed sacraments of holy church, wherewith God hath been served this fifteen hundred years?' (yea, verily this five thousand years, even since Cain hitherto, and shall endure unto the world's end, among them that have no love unto the truth, to be saved thereby) 'thou art a strong heretic, and worthy to be burnt.' And then he is excommunicate out of the church. If little flock fear not that bug, then they go straight unto the king: 'And it like your grace, perilous people, and seditious, and even enough to destroy your realm, if ye see not to them betimes. They be so obstinate and tough, that they will not be converted, and rebellious against God and the ordinances of his holy church. And how much more shall they so be against your grace, if they increase and grow to a multitude! They will pervert all, and surely make new laws, and either subdue your grace unto them, or rise against you.' And then goeth a part of little flock to pot, and the rest scatter. Thus hath it ever been, and shall ever be: let no man therefore deceive himself.

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The manner of the pope's clergy.

Little flock goeth ever to wreck.

An answer to M. More's Second Book.

In the first chapter, ye may not try the doctrine of the spiritualty by the scripture; but what they say, that believe undoubtedly, and by that try the scripture[1]. And if thou

[1 "Where I" [More's imaginary questioner in the dialogue] "said

find the plain contrary in the scripture, thou mayest not believe the scripture, but seek a gloss and an allegory to make them agree. As when the pope saith, Ye be justified by the works of the ceremonies and sacraments, and so forth; and the scripture saith, that we be justified at the repentance of the heart, through Christ's blood: the first is true plain, as the pope saith it, and as it standeth in his text; but the second is false, as it appeareth unto thine understanding, and the literal sense that killeth. Thou must therefore believe the pope, and for Christ's doctrine seek an allegory and a mystical sense: that is, that thou must leave the clear light and walk in the mist. And yet Christ and his apostles, for all their miracles, required not to be believed without scripture, as thou mayest see John v. and Acts xvii., and by their diligent alleging of scripture throughout all the new Testament.

The pope will not be tried by scripture; but the scripture must be judged by him.

John v. Acts xvii.

And in the end he saith, for his pleasure, that we knowledge that no man may minister sacraments but he that is derived out of the pope. Howbeit, this we knowledge, that no man could minister sacraments without signification, which are no sacraments, save such as are of the pope's generation.

None can minister the sacraments superstitiously but the pope's generation.

The Third Chapter.

In the third chapter, and in the chapter following, he uttereth how fleshly-minded he is, and how beastly he imagineth of God, as Paul saith, (1 Cor. ii.) "The natural man cannot understand the things of the Spirit of God." He thinketh of God as he doth of his cardinal; that he is a monster, pleased when men flatter him; and if, of whatsoever frailty it be, men break his commandments, he is then raging mad as the pope is, and seeketh to be venged. Nay, God is ever fatherly-minded toward the elect members of his church. He loved them, ere the world began, in Christ. (Eph. i.) He loveth

1 Cor. ii.

The natural and carnal man savoureth not the things that be of God.

Eph. i. Rom. v.

that it was thought reasonable to believe the scripture, being God's own words, rather than the words of men, ye" [i.e. Sir Thomas More] "proved that the common faith of the church was as well God's own words as was holy scripture self, and of as great authority; and that no student in scripture should presume to try, examine, and judge the catholic faith of Christ's church by the scripture, but by the catholic faith of Christ's church should examine and expound the texts of scripture." Dialogue, B. II. ch. I. Works, p. 178.]

God is fatherly to his elect members.

them while they be yet evil, and his enemies in their hearts, ere they be come unto the knowledge of his Son Christ, and ere his law be written in their hearts; as a father loveth his young son, while he is yet evil, and ere it know the father's law to consent thereto.

And after they be once actually of his church, and the law of God and faith of Christ written in their hearts, their hearts never sin any more, though (as Paul saith, Rom. vii.) the flesh doth in them that the spirit would not. And when they sin of frailty, God ceaseth not to love them still; though he be angry, to put a cross of tribulations upon their backs, to purge them and to subdue the flesh unto the spirit, or to all-to break[1] their consciences with threatening of the law, and to fear them with hell: as a father, when his son offendeth him, feareth him with the rod, but hateth him not.

Rom. vii.

If we sin of frailty, God is merciful and ready to forgive.

God did not hate Paul, when he persecuted, but had laid up mercy for him in store; though he was angry with him, to scourge him and to teach him better. Neither were those things laid on his back, which he after suffered, to make satisfaction for his fore sins, but only to serve his brethren, and to keep the flesh under. Neither did God hate David when he had sinned, though he was angry with him. Neither did he after suffer to make satisfaction to God for his old sins, but to keep his flesh under, and to keep him in meekness, and to be an ensample for our learning.

The new life doth tame the flesh, and serve her neighbour.

The Fourth Chapter.

In the fourth saith he, 'If the church were an unknown company, how should the infidels, if they longed for the faith, come thereby?' Oh, whither wandereth a fleshly mind?—as though we first sought out God! Nay, God knoweth his, and seeketh them out, and sendeth his messengers unto them, and giveth them an heart to understand. Did the heathen, or any nation, seek Christ? Nay, Christ sought them, and sent his apostles unto them: as thou seest in the stories from the beginning of the world, and as the parables and similitudes of the gospel declare.

God seeketh us, and we not him.

And when he saith, he never found nor heard of any of

[1 All-to: altogether.]

us, but that he would forswear to save his life[2]: Answer; The more wrath of God will light on them that so cruelly delight to torment them, and so craftily to beguile the weak. Nevertheless yet it is untrue: for he hath heard of sir Thomas Hitton, whom the bishops of Rochester and Canterbury slew at Maidstone[3]; and of many that suffered in Braband, Holland, and at Colen, and in all quarters of Dutchland, and do daily. And when he saith that their church hath many martyrs, let him shew me one, that died for pardons and purgatory, that the pope hath feigned; and let him take the mastery.

More, a lying papist.

Sir Thomas Hitton.

The pope hath no martyrs. W. T.

And what ado maketh he, that we say, there is a church that sinneth not, and that there is no man but that he sinneth! which are yet both true. We read, (1 John iii.), "He that is born of God sinneth not;" and (Eph. v.), "Men, love your wives as the Lord doth the church, and gave himself for her, to sanctify her, and to cleanse her in the fountain of water through the word, and to make her a glorious church unto himself, without spot or wrinkle;" and (1 John i.), "If we say we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and make him a liar, and his word is not in us." M. More also will not understand, that the church is sometime taken for the elect only; which have the law of God written in their hearts, and faith to be saved through Christ written there also: which same, for all that, say with Paul, "That good which I would, that do I not; but that evil which I hate, that do I: so it is not I that do it, but sin that dwelleth in my flesh;" and (Gal. v.), "the flesh lusteth contrary to the spirit, and the spirit contrary to the flesh; so that," these two fighting between themselves, "ye cannot do what ye would:" for they never consent that sin is good, nor hate the law, nor cease to fight against the flesh; but, as soon as they be fallen, rise and fight afresh:—and that the church is sometime taken for the

There is a church that sinneth not.

1 John iii.

Eph. v.

1 John i.

The church is double.

Gal. v.

[2 More makes his questioner say, that the reformers' party 'hath some that preach sometime, but ye will not suffer them; ye punish them and burn them.' To which More replies, 'Nay, they be wiser than so; for they will rather swear on a book that they never said so,' p. 183.]

[3 See Vol. II. p. 340. In the preface to More's Confutacyon, he gives a most scornful account of this meek reformer's apprehension and cruel death; calling him "the devil's stinking martyr."]

The carnal church sinneth.

common rascal[1] of all that believe, whether with the mouth only, and carnally without spirit, neither loving the law in their hearts, nor feeling the mercy that is in Christ; but either run altogether at riot, or keep the law with cautels and expositions of their own feigning, and yet not of love, but for fear of hell, as the thieves do for fear of the gallows; and make recompence to God for their sins with holy deeds.

Two manner faiths. W.T.

He also will not understand, that there be two manner faiths: one, that is the faith of the elect, which purgeth them

John xv.

of all their sins for ever: as ye see John xv., "Ye be clean, saith Christ, by the reason of the word," that is, through

John i.

believing Christ's doctrine; and John i., "He gave them power to be the sons of God through believing in his name;"

John iii.

and John iii., "He that believeth the Son hath everlasting life;" and a thousand like texts: and another, of them that

The faith of them that be called, but not elect.

be called and never elect: as the faith of Judas, of Simon Magus, of the devil, and of the pope; in whose hearts the law of God is not written, as it appeareth by their works. And therefore when they believe many things of Christ, yet when they come unto the salvation that is in his blood, they be but Jews and Turks; and forsake Christ, and run unto the justifying of ceremonies with the Jews and Turks. And therefore they remain ever in sin within their hearts.

Whereas the elect, having the law written in their breasts, and loving it in their spirits, sin there never; but without, in the flesh. Against which sin they fight continually, and minish it daily with the help of the Spirit, through prayer, fasting, and serving their neighbours lovingly with all manner service, out of the law that is written in their hearts. And their hope of forgiveness is in Christ only; through his blood, and not in ceremonies.

The Fifth Chapter.

The pope hideth the scripture.

And unto his fifth chapter I answer, By the pope the scripture is hid, and brought into ignorance, and the true sense corrupt. And by them that ye call heretics we know the scripture, and the true sense thereof. And I say, that the pope keepeth the scripture, as did the Pharisees, to make merchandise of it: and again, that the heretics be come out

[1 That is, mixed multitude.]

of you, as out of the scribes and Pharisees came the apostles, and Christ himself, and John Baptist; and that they be plucked out of you, and graffed in Christ, and built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets.

And in the end, when he saith that the heretics be fallen out of Christ's mystical body, which is the pope and his; I answer, that ye be a mystical body, and walk in the mist and will not come at the light; and the heretics be departed out of your mist, and walk in the clear light of God's word.

The heretics be fallen out of the mist. W.T.

The Sixth Chapter.

In the sixth he saith, that the heretics be all naught, for they all perjure and abjure[2]. He yet saith untrue. Many abide unto the death. Many, for their weakness, are kept out of your hands. Many, for their overmuch boldness in their own strength, be delivered into your hands, and fall in the flesh, their hearts abiding still in the truth; as Peter and thousands did; and after repent, and be no less Christen than before, though ye have them in derision, unto your own damnation. And many, because they come to Christ for fleshly liberty, and not for love of the truth, fall as it becometh them under your hands, as Judas and Balaam; which at the beginning take Christ's part, but afterward, when they find either loss, or no vantage, they get them unto the contrary part, and are by profession the most cruel enemies and subtilest persecutors of the truth. Look, Master More; and read, and mark well.

Why many fall. W.T.

The Seventh Chapter.

In the seventh he saith, that he hath holy saints and holy councils on his side. Name the saints, and prove it. Name the councils, and the holy prelates thereof. Thou shalt shew me none other popes or cardinals, than such as we have now; that will obey neither God nor man, nor any law made by God or man; but compel all men to follow them, strengthening their kingdom with the multitude of all misdoers.

Councils.

He saith also, that good and bad worship saints; the good

[2 "Now, quod I, all that are of that sort, if they happen to adventure somewhat and be spied, they will first perjure themselves, and after abjure their opinion; so that if their opinion were good yet were themselves naught," p. 186.]

well, and the bad evil. How cometh it then that ye shew not the difference, and teach to do it well? I see but one fashion among all the popish. And finally he saith, he is not bound to answer unto the reasons and scriptures that are laid against them. It is enough, to prove their part, that it is a common custom, and that such a multitude do it. And so, by his doctrine, the Turks are in the right way.

The Eighth Chapter.

Saints. In the eighth he saith, the saints be more charitable now than when they lived. I answer, Abraham was, when he lived, as charitable as the best: and yet dead, he answered Luke xvi. him that prayed to him, "They have Moses and the prophets, let them hear them." And so have we, not Moses and the prophets only, but a more clear light, even Christ and the apostles; unto which if we hearken, we be saints already.

Luke vii. And to prove that they in heaven be better than we in earth, he allegeth a text of our Saviour (Luke vii.), that the worst in heaven is better than John Baptist. Now the text is, "He that is less in the kingdom of heaven is greater than he." We that believe are God's kingdom. And he that is least (in doing service unto his brethren) is ever the greatest, after the doctrine of Christ. Now Christ was less than John, for he did more service than John[1]; and therefore greater than he. And, by their own doctrine, there was no saint in heaven before the resurrection of Christ. But what care they what they say, blinded with their own sophistry?

Christ did such service as all the saints could not do.

Moreover, cursed is he that trusteth in aught save God, saith the text; and therefore the saints would have no man to trust in them, while they were alive: as Paul saith (1 Cor. 1 Cor. iii. iii.), "What is Paul, save your servant to preach Christ? Did 1 Cor. i. Paul die for you? Were ye baptized in the name of Paul?" 'Did I not marry you to Christ, to put your trust in him?' And again, "Let no man rejoice" or trust "in man," saith he. 1 Cor. iii. "For all are yours, whether Paul, or Apollo, or Cephas; whether the world, life, death, present things, or things to come; all are yours, and ye are Christ's, and Christ is God's." If my faith be stedfast in the promises that I have in Christ's blood, I need but to pray my Father in Christ's name, and he

[1 So in C. U. L. ed. D. omits this clause. See Vol. II. p. 232.]

shall send me a legion of angels to help me; so that my faith is lord over the angels, and over all creatures, to turn them unto my soul's health and my father's honour, and may be subject unto no creature, but unto God's word in our Saviour Christ only. I may have no trust therefore in the saints. If ye say, ye put no trust in them, but only put them in remembrance of their duty; as a man desireth his neighbour to pray for him, remembering him of his duty; and as when we desire our brethren to help us at our need; that is false, for ye put trust in all your ceremonies and all your holy deeds, and in whosoever disguiseth himself, and altereth his coat from the common fashion, yea, and even in the coats of them that be not yet saints after your doctrine.

We may not trust to saints.

If a priest said mass in his gown, would ye not rise against him and slay him; and that for the false faith that ye have in the other garments? For what honour can those other garments do to God more than his gown, or profit unto your souls, seeing ye understand nought thereby? And thereto in the collects of saints ye say, 'Save me, God, and give me everlasting life, for the merits of this or that saint;' every man after his phantasy choosing him one saint singularly to be saved by[2]. With which collects, I pray you shew me, how standeth the death of Christ? Paul would say that Christ died in vain, if that doctrine were true. And thereto inasmuch as ye say, the saints merit or deserve not in heaven, but in this world only, it is to be feared lest their merits be sore wasted, and the deservings of many all spent, through our holy father's so great liberality.

Prayer to saints is a great superstition.

Abraham and the prophets, and the apostles, and many since, prayed to no saints; and yet were holy enough. And

Before Christ we used not to pray to saints.

[2 In the Roman breviary the collect for July 6, being the octave of the festival of Peter and Paul, is as follows: Deus, cujus dextera beatum Petrum ambulantem in fluctibus, ne mergeretur, erexit; et coapostolum ejus Paulum, tertio naufragantem, de profundo pelagi liberavit: exaudi nos propitius, et *concede, ut amborum meritis æternitatis gloriam consequamur.* Qui vivis et regnas cum Deo Patre.

In "The devotion and office of the sacred heart, &c., with exercises for the holy sacrifice of the Mass," Dublin, 1829, there occurs this prayer: "O God, who hast vouchsafed to send the blessed Patrick, thy confessor and bishop, to preach thy glory to nations, *grant by his merits and intercession,* that what thou hast commanded us to do, we may through thy mercy be able to fulfil through our Lord. Amen."]

when he saith, they could help when they were alive; that was through their faith, in believing the promise: for they had promises, that they should do such miracles to stablish their doctrine, and to provoke unto Christ, and not unto themselves.

And when he proveth that the saints be in heaven in glory with Christ already, saying, 'If God be their God, they be in heaven, for he is not the God of the dead;' there he stealeth away Christ's argument, wherewith he proveth the resurrection: that Abraham and all saints should rise again, and not that their souls were in heaven; which doctrine was not yet in the world. And with that doctrine he taketh away the resurrection quite, and maketh Christ's argument of none effect. For when Christ allegeth the scripture, that God is Abraham's God, and addeth to, that God is not God of the dead but of the living, and so proveth that Abraham must rise again; I deny Christ's argument, and I say[1] with M. More, that Abraham is yet alive, not because of the resurrection, but because his soul is in heaven. And in like manner, Paul's argument unto the Corinthians is nought worth: for when he saith, 'If there be no resurrection, we be of all wretches the miserablest; here we have no pleasure, but sorrow, care, and oppression; and therefore, if we rise not again, all our suffering is in vain:' 'Nay, Paul, thou art unlearned; go to Master More, and learn a new way. We be not most miserable, though we rise not again; for our souls go to heaven as soon as we be dead, and are there in as great joy as Christ that is risen again.' And I marvel that Paul had not comforted the Thessalonians with that doctrine, if he had wist it, that the souls of their dead had been in joy; as he did with the resurrection, that their dead should rise again. If the souls be in heaven, in as great glory as the angels, after your doctrine, shew me what cause should be of the resurrection?

M. More destroyeth the resurrection. W.T.

Matt. xxii.

1 Cor. xv.

1 Thess. iv.

And when he saith, "Whether the saints do it themselves, or by intercession made to God, it maketh no matter, so we be holp;" it appeareth by his doctrine, that all is good that helpeth, though a man pray unto the devil, by whom many be holp. Now in Christ we have promises of all manner help, and not in them. Where then is our faith to be holp

The more trust we have in saints, the less we have in Christ.

[1 That is, *if I say*. See in like manner *and he be*, p. 121.]

by Christ, when we hope to be holp by the merits of saints? So it appeareth, that the more trust we have in saints, the less we have in Christ.

And when he bringeth in a similitude, that we pray physicians, though God can help us, and therefore we must pray to saints; it is not like. For they have natural remedies for us; which we must use, and not tempt God: but the saints have no natural remedies, nor promise of supernatural; and therefore it can be but a false superstitious faith. And where no natural remedy is, there God hath promised to help them that believe in him. And moreover, when I pray a physician or surgeon, and trust to be holp by them, I dishonour God; except I first pray to God, and believe that he will work with their doctrine and medicines, and so receive mine health of the hand of God. And even so, when I pray to man, to help me at mine need, I sin; except I complain first to God and shew him my need, and desire him to move one or another to help me; and then, when I am holp, thank him and receive it of his hand, inasmuch as he moved the heart of him that holp me, and gave him wherewith, and a commandment to do it.

Physicians.

We must first call upon God, and then send for the physician.

M. More:—"Christ is not dishonoured, because that they which here preach him truly shall sit and judge with him."

Tyndale:—That to be true the scripture testifieth; but what is that to your purpose, that they which be dead can hear us and help us? Howbeit, if M. More should describe us those seats, I am sure he would paint them after the fashion of my lord cardinal's holy chair; as he doth God after the similitude of worldly tyrants, and not according to his own word. For they that be worldly, and fleshly minded, can but fleshly imagine of God, altogether like unto the similitude of worldly things.

The fleshly minded cannot judge the things that be of God.

M. More:—"The apostles and saints were prayed to when they were alive, and God not dishonoured."

Tyndale:—What helpeth that your carnal purpose? I have answered you unto that, and many things more, in the Obedience[2], and other places; against which ye reply not, but keep your tune, and unto all things sing cuckoo, cuckoo, 'We be the church and cannot err.' The apostles had God's word for all that they did, and ye none: and yet many dis-

1 Cor. iii.

[2 Vol. I. p. 288. et seq.]

honoured God and Christ, for their false trust and confidence which they had in the apostles; as thou mayest see by Paul to the Corinthians.

More driveth from God.

Then he breaketh forth into open blasphemy, and saith that 'it behoveth us to pray unto saints, and that God will else not hear us, for our presumptuous malapertness[1].' So it is now presumptuous malapertness to trust in God's word, and

Heb. iv.

to believe that God is true! Paul teacheth us to be bold to go unto God, and sheweth us good cause in Christ, why we so may, and that God would so have us. Neither is there any cause to keep us back; save that we love him not, nor trust him. If a man say, 'Our sins should keep us back:' I say, If we repent and believe in Christ, Christ hath taken them away, and therefore through him we may be bold.

John xvi.

And Christ said at his last supper (John xvi.), "I say not that I will pray for you unto my Father, for my Father loveth you:" as who should say, 'Be not afraid, nor stand without the doors, as a dastard; but be bold, and go in to my Father yourselves in my name, and shew your complaints; for he now loveth you, because ye love my doctrine.' And Paul

Eph. ii.

saith (Eph. ii.), "We have all an open way in through him, and are now no more foreigners, or strangers, but of the

We may be bold to resort to God, for he willeth us so to do.

household of God." Of God therefore we be bold, as of a most loving and merciful father, above all the mercy of fathers. And of our Saviour Jesus we be bold, as of a thing that is our own, and more our own than our own skins; and a thing that is so soft and gentle, that lade we him never so much with our sins, he cannot be angry, nor cast them from off his back, so we repent and will amend. But M. More hath another doctrine, to drive us from God, and to make us tremble and be afraid of him.

He likeneth God to worldly tyrants, at whom no man may come, save a few flatterers, which minister unto them all voluptuousness, and serve their lusts at all points; which flat-

[1 "Sith his pleasure is to have his saints had in honour and prayed unto, that they may be for us intercessors to his high majesty, whereunto ere we presume to approach, it becometh us and well behoveth us to make friends of such as he hath in favor, he will disdain once to look on us, if we be so presumptuous and malapert fellows that upon boldness and familiarity with himself we disdain to make our intercessors his especial friends." More's Dial. Works, p. 189.]

terers must first be corrupt with gifts, ere a man may come at the king. Then he saith, "A man may pray to every dead man[2]." That, methinketh, should be against the pope's doctrine, and profit also: for he will have no man prayed to, until he have canvassed him, I would say, canonized him; and till God, or at the least way the devil, have shewed miracles for him.

M. More is against the pope's profit. W. T.

Then he bringeth how one that was dead, and in the invisible purgatory, holp another that was alive, and in the visible purgatory[3]. This is a strange case, that a man there may help another, and not himself. And a more strange case, that God heareth a man here for himself, being in his own purgatory, and helpeth him clean out, or easeth him if it be too sore: but and he be in the pope's purgatory, God will not hear him for himself; and that because the pope might have somewhat to deliver him. And the strangest case of all is, that the pope is almighty there, and God can do there nought at all; as the pope cannot here in this purgatory. But because this is not God's word, nor like God's doctrine, I think it no damnable sin to believe it poetry.

Purgatory.

A purgatory visible, and a purgatory invisible.

Then, how "ye may pray for them, and to them, till they be canonized," and "when they be canonized, to them only;" for then ye be sure that they be in heaven[4]. By what token? I may be as sure by the canonizing, as I am that all the bishops, which the pope confirmeth, be holy men; and all the doctors, that he maketh, well learned; and that all the priests, which he anointeth, have the Holy Ghost! If ye say, 'Be-

Canonizing.

How you may know who be saints in heaven.

[2 "Why, quod he, by that reason I might pray not only to saints, but also to every other dead man! So may ye, quod I, with good reason; if ye see none other likelihood but that he died a good man." Id. ibid.]

[3 "So find we, as I remember, in the dialogues of St Gregory, that one had help by prayer made unto an holy man late deceased, which was himself yet in purgatory. So liked it our Lord, to let the world know that he was in his special favour, though he were yet in pain of his purgation." Id. ibid.]

[4 "Those, quod I, that be not canonized, ye may, for the more part, both pray for them, and pray to them, as ye may pray for and to them that be yet alive. But one that is canonized, ye may pray to him to pray for you; but ye may not pray for him. And of every man ye may trust well, and be seldom certain; but of the canonized ye may reckon you sure." Id. p. 190.]

cause of the miracles;' then do men wrong to pray for king Henry of Windsor at Cambridge and Eton. For he, as men say, doth miracles. And also, if the miracles certify us, what needeth to buy the pope's canonizing?

King Henry of Windsor.

The Ninth Chapter.

A strange doctrine, to pray to him for help that is dead and damned.

In the ninth he putteth 'no jeopardy to pray to him that is damned,' and to stick up a candle to him; nor I trow unto the devil thereto, if he might have a vantage by him[1].

Then he maketh 'no jeopardy to do and believe whatsoever an open multitude, called God's church, doth and believeth: for God will have an open church, that cannot err.' For saith he, 'When the Israelites fell to idolatry, the true church remained in Jerusalem among the Jews.' First, I say, if a man had no better understanding than M. More's doctrine, he could not know whether were the true church, the Jews or the Israelites. For the Israelites were in number five times more than the Jews, and worshipped God, though as present in the image of a calf; as the Jews, for the most part, present in the ark of testimony. And secondarily he saith false: for the Jews were fallen into open idolatry, a thousand times worse than the Israelites, even in their very temple, as it appeareth by open stories and by the prophets: so that for their open idolatry, which they would for no preaching of the prophets amend, their priests thereto resisting the prophets and encouraging the people in their wickedness, God sent them captive out of the land. Yea, and the people erred in following the scribes and Pharisees and the open multitude, called God's church, at the coming of Christ; as it is to see in the gospel, contrary unto M. More's deceitful poetry. And again, God reserved him a little flock ever in Israel, and had ever prophets there, sometimes openly, and sometimes in

The Israelites were more in number than the Jews.

The Jews committed idolatry.

God ever reserveth a little flock.

[1 "The name is not so very requisite, but that we may mistake it without peril, so that we nevertheless have the relics of holy men in reverence; but as for pig's bones for relics, or damned wretches to be worshipped for saints, albeit that, if it happened, yet it nothing hurted the souls of them that mistake it, no more than if we worshipped an host in the mass, which percase the negligence or malice of some lewd priest hath left unconsecrate; yet is it never to be thought, though such a thing might happen suddenly, that ever God will suffer such a thing to last and endure in his church." Id. p. 193.]

persecution, that every man must hide himself, and keep his faith secret: and even in the houses of the evil kings, both of Jewry and also of Israel, he had good people, and that among the high officers, but secretly, as Nicodemus among the Pharisees. So that the very church was everywhere oft-times in captivity and persecution under their brethren, as we be under ours in the kingdom of the pope.

Then he putteth 'no jeopardy to worship an unconsecrated host.' But with what worship men should worship the consecrated, doth he not teach; neither the use of that sacrament, or any other; nor how aught may be worshipped; but teacheth only that all things may be worshipped, and sheweth not the right worship from the false.

More feareth not to worship an unconsecrated host.

Then he noteth Paul (1 Cor. i.), 'how he exhorteth us to agree only; but not on the truth or on the good, but only to agree a great multitude together.' O this deep blindness! Did not Paul first teach them the true way? And did he not instruct them anew in the true way, and in the said epistle rebuke the false confidence that they had in men, the cause of all their dissension and all errors that were among them?

1 Cor. i.

We must first know the true way, and then agree in the same.

Then he saith, 'The Jews had saints in honour, as the patriarchs and prophets.' We teach to dishonour none. But the Jews prayed to none.

More:—"Christ rebuked not the Pharisees for garnishing the sepulchres of the prophets, but for that they followed the conditions of them that slew them."

Christ rebuked the false trust the Jews had in their will-works.

Tyndale:—Yes, and for their false trust in such works; as we do you. And ye, sir, think that ye deserve heaven in worshipping the saints' bones; and be as ready to slay them that believe, teach, and live as the saints did, as your fathers were to slay them. Besides that, ye worship saints that followed Christ after the example of your holy cardinal; of whom I doubt not but that ye will make a God, in process of time also.

Then repeateth he, for forgetting, how 'Eliseus' bones raised up a dead body.' That was to confirm his preaching only. For the Israelites, as wicked as they were, neither prayed to him, neither kissed his bones, nor offered, nor sticked up candles before him; which thing if they had done in the kingdom of the Jews, I doubt not but that some good king would have burnt his bones to ashes, as well as the brasen

The miracles done by the prophets and apostles were to confirm their doctrine.

serpent, that was as great a relic as dead bones. And, 'Christ shewed miracles at the finding of the cross.' That was to stablish the faith of Christ's death, and that it should be a memory of his death; and not that we should trust in the wood, as we do: for which false abuse the whole land, where Christ did his miracles, is destroyed.

Christ made the woman whole, and not his coat.

Then he allegeth 'the woman that was healed through touching of Christ's coat; because we should worship it:' when Christ said, "her faith hath made her whole," not in the coat, but in Christ. And the miracle was shewed, to provoke to the worshipping of the preaching, and not of the coat: though to keep the coat reverently in the memorial of the deed, to provoke unto the faith of Christ, were not evil of itself. And Paul, by your doctrine, sent his napkin to heal the sick, that men should shrine his snivelled napkin[1], and not to believe his preaching.

Miracles were done for the confirmation of doctrine.

The Tenth Chapter.

A filthy chapter.

The tenth chapter, of St Walary, is meet for the author and his worshipful doctrine[2].

[1 In this allusion to a shrined napkin, Tyndale makes the only remark he thought fit to bestow, on what More has described as follows in this same chapter: "Myself saw at the abbey of Barking besides London, to my remembrance about thirty years past, in the setting an old image in a new tabernacle, the back of that image being all painted over, and of long time before laid with beaten gold, happened to erase in one place, and out there fell a pretty little door, at which fell out also many relics, that had lien unknown in that image, God wote how long.... Among other were certain small kercheors, which were named there our lady's, and of her own working. Coarse were they not, nor they were not large; but served, as it seemed, to cast in a plain and simple manner upon her head. But surely they were as clean, seems to my seeming, as ever I saw in my life; and were therewith as white, for all the long lieing, as if they had been washed and laid up within one hour. And how long that image had stand in that old tabernacle, that no man could tell; but they had in all that church none, as they thought, standen longer untouched. And they guessed that four or five hundred years ago that image was hidden, when the abbey was burned by infidels, and those relics hidden therein. And so the relics remained unknown therein, till now that God gave that chance that opened it." p. 192.]

[2 The tale which More has told, of a pilgrimage to the chapel of St Valeri, in Picardy, fills nearly two columns; and is too grossly indecent to admit of any allusion to its subject.]

The Eleventh Chapter.

In the eleventh, he juggleth with this mystical term, *latria*. I answer, God is no vain name; but signifieth one that is almighty, all merciful, all true and good; which he that believeth will go to God, to his promises and testament, and not follow his own imaginations, as Master More's doctrine teacheth. Latria.

He saith, that "bodily service is not latria." No, but bodily service done and referred unto him, which is a spirit, is Idololatria.

He trusteth "that men know the image from the saint." I ask M. More, why God did hide Moses's body and divers other? The Jews would have known that Moses had not been God, and that Moses's bones had not been Moses. And they knew that the brasen serpent was not God; and that the golden calves were not God; and that wood and stone were not God. But, sir, there is ever a false imagination by. The world, because they cannot worship God in the spirit, to repent of evil, and to love the law, and to believe that he will help at all need, therefore run they unto their own imaginations; and think that God, for such service as they do to images, will fulfil their worldly desires; for godly can they nought desire. Now God is a spirit, and will be worshipped in his word only, which is spiritual; and will have no bodily service. And the ceremonies of the old law he set up, to signify his word only, and to keep the people in mind of his testament: so that he which observeth any ceremony, of any other purpose, is an idolater, that is, an image-server. Moses's bones. The brasen serpent. God is a spirit, and will be worshipped spiritually.

And when he saith, "If men ask women whether it were our lady of Walsingham, or Ipswich, that was saluted of Gabriel, or that stood by Christ when he hung on the cross? they will say, neither nother." Then I ask him, what meaneth it that they say, 'Our lady of Walsingham, pray for me; Our lady of Ipswich, pray for me; Our lady of Wilsdon, pray for me?' insomuch that some, which reckon themselves no small fools, make them rolls of half an hour long, to pray after that manner. And they that so pray, thou mayest be sure, mean our lady that stood by the cross; and her that was saluted thereto. The idolatrous person worshippeth the image for the saint.

Then he rehearseth many abuses, and how that women sing songs of ribaldry in processions in cathedral churches; Processions though they be abused,

may not be put down.

unto which abominations yet our holy church, that cannot err, consents with full delectation. For on the one side they will not amend the abuse; and, on the other side, they have hired M. More to prove with his sophistry, that the things ought not to be put down.

Wild Irish. Welchmen.

Then he bringeth in 'how the wild Irish and the Welch pray, when they go to steal;' and asketh 'whether because they abuse prayer, we should put all praying down?' Nay, M. More, it is not like. Prayer is God's commandment; and where faith is, there must prayer needs be, and cannot be away. Howbeit, things that are but men's traditions, and all indifferent things which we may be as well without as with, may well be put down for their dishonouring of God through the abuse. We have turned kissing in the church into the pax[1]. We have put down watching all night in the church on saints' eves, for the abuse. And Ezekias brake the brasen serpent (4 Kings xviii.), for the abuse. And even so such processions, and the multitude of ceremonies, and of holy days too, might as well be put down. And the ceremonies that be left should have their significations put to them, and the people should be taught them. And on the Sundays God's word should be truly preached: which if his holy church would do, neither the Irish nor yet the Welsh would so pray; by which praying, and other like blindness, M. More may see that buzzing in Latin, on the holy days, helpeth not the hearts of the people. And I wonder that M. More can laugh at it, and not rather weep for compassion to see the souls for which Christ shed his blood to perish. And yet I believe that your holy church will not refuse at Easter to receive the tithes of all that such blind people rob, as well as they dispense with all false-gotten good that is brought them; and will lay the ensample of Abraham and Melchisedek for them.

Many things are altered for the abuses' sake.

Ezekias.

2 Kings xviii.

The true preaching of God's word removeth theft and all other wickedness.

The Twelfth Chapter.

In the twelfth he allegeth that 'St Jerom and Augustine prayed to saints[2],' and concludeth, 'that if any sect be one

[1 A small image of the crucifix, which is handed from one to another to be kissed.]

[2 Cum talia vivorum solatia requiruntur, quibus eorum pius in suos animus appareat, non video quæ sunt adjumenta mortuorum, nisi ad hoc ut, dum recolunt ubi sint posita eorum quos diligunt corpora,

better than another, they be the best.' I answer, though he could prove that they prayed to saints, yet could he not prove himself thereby of the best sect; nor that it were good therefore to pray to saints. For first, the apostles, patriarchs, and prophets were sure[3] to be followed, which prayed to none. And again, a good man might err in many things, and not be damned; so that his error were not directly against the promises that are in Christ's blood, neither that he held them maliciously: as if I believed that the souls were in heaven immediately, and that they prayed for us, as we do one for another, and did believe that they heard all that we spake or thought; and upon that prayed to some saint to pray for me, to put him in remembrance only, as I pray my neighbour, and without other trust or confidence; and though all be false, yet should I not be damned, so long as I had no obstinacy therein: for the faith that I have in Christ's blood should swallow up that error, till I were better taught. But M. More should have alleged the places where they prayed unto saints.

A good man may err, and yet not be damned.

And then he allegeth against himself, that 'the miracles were wrought by God, to confirm his doctrine, and to testify that the preacher there was a true messenger.' But the miracles that confirm praying to saints do not confirm God's doctrine, but man's imaginations. For there was never man yet that came forth and said, 'Lo, the souls of the saints, that be dead, be in heaven in joy with Christ; and God will that ye pray unto them: in token whereof I do this or that miracle.'

The miracles of saints confirm man's imaginations.

And when he triumpheth a little after, as though all were won, saying, 'If our old holy doctors were false, and their doctrine untrue, and their miracles feigned, let them come forth and do miracles themselves, and prove ours feigned:'— Sir, ye have no doctors that did miracles to stablish your

eisdem sanctis illos tamquam patronis susceptos apud Dominum adjuvandos orando commendent. Cum itaque recolit animus ubi sepultum sit carissimi corpus, et occurrit locus nomine martyris venerabilis, eidem martyri animam dilectam commendat recordantis et precantis affectus. Qui cum defunctis a fidelibus carissimis exhibetur, *cum prodesse non dubium est* iis qui, cum in corpore viverent, talia sibi post hanc vitam prodesse meruerunt.—August. Op. De cur. agend. pro Mort. Tom. VI. col. 519. B. D.]

[3 Sure, used for *safe*.]

There were no doctors, neither apostles, that did miracles to establish the worshipping of images.

worshipping of images, and so forth. Your doctrine is but the opinion of faithless people, which to confirm the devil hath wrought much subtilty. And as for the miracles done at saints' graves, and at the presence of relics, as long as true miracles endured, and until the scripture was authentically received, [they] were done to confirm the preaching that such saints had preached, while they were alive. And thereto, the miracles which witches do, we confound not with other miracles; but with scripture we prove them not of God, but of the devil, to stablish a false faith, and to lead from God; as your doctrine doth. And likewise where we can confound your false doctrine with authentic and manifest scripture, there need we to do no miracle. We bring God's testament, confirmed with miracles, for all that we do; and ye ought to require no more of us.

Witches.

Where true doctrine is set forth, there needeth no miracle.

☞ Let the papists, for lack of scriptures, come forth and do miracles.

And in like manner do ye first give us authentic scripture for your doctrine. If ye have no scripture, come forth and preach your doctrine, and confirm it with a miracle. And then if we bring not authentic scripture against you, or confound your miracle with a greater, as Moses did the sorcerers of Egypt, we will believe you.

God's word is the touchstone to try miracles.

And when he speaketh of trial of miracles, what do ye to try your miracles, whether they be true or feigned? And besides that, God's word, which should be the trial, ye refuse, and do all that ye can to falsify it.

The sects in the popish church are almost innumerable.

And when he speaketh of sects of heretics, I answer, that they which ye call heretics believe all in one Christ, as the scripture teacheth; and ye in all things save Christ. And in your false doctrine, of your own feigning without scripture, ye have as many sundry sects as all monks and friars and students in divinity in all your universities. For first, ere ye come to divinity, ye be all taught to deny the salvation that is in Christ. And none of you teacheth another so much as the articles of your faith; but follow almost every man a sundry doctor, and in the scripture his own brain, framing it after the false opinions which he hath professed ere he come at it.

Mahomet's doctrine hath prevailed these eight hundred years.

And when he saith, that 'God would soon utter[1] feigned miracles:' I answer, 'God hath had, at all times, one or another to improve[2] yours with God's word.' And I ask

[1 Utter: expose.] [2 Improve: disprove.]

whether Mahomet's feigned miracles have not prevailed eight hundred years? And your abominable deeds, worse than the Turks, testify that ye love the truth less than they. And unto them that love not the truth hath God promised, by the mouth of Paul (2 Thess. ii.), to send them abundance and strength of false miracles, to stablish them in lies, and to deceive them, and lead them out of the way, so that they cannot but perish for their unkindness, that they loved not the truth to live thereafter, and to honour God in their members.

The cause of false miracles. W. T.

2 Thess. ii.

And when he saith, 'the heretics have no miracles;' I answer, 'They need not, so long as they have authentic scripture.' And when he saith, 'God sheweth no miracles for the doctors of the heretics:' No more he needeth not; for all they preach is the scripture, confirmed with miracles, and received many hundred years ago. And therefore God needeth not to shew miracles for them while they live, to strength their preaching. And to shew miracles for them when they be dead, to move the people to pray to them, and to put their trust in them, as ye do in yours, were to make them idols, and not saints.

Where the scripture is, there needeth no miracles.

The preachers of the word of God need no miracles.

And when he speaketh of miracles done in their churches in time of persecution; I answer, those were not the miracles of your church, but of them that believed the scripture and suffered for it, as the heretics do now. For ye had never persecution for your false doctrine, which ye have brought in besides the scripture, nor any that died for it; but ye persecute and slay whosoever with God's word doth rebuke it. And as for your own miracles of which ye make your boast, ye have feigned them so grossly, throughout all your legends of saints, that ye be now ashamed of them, and would fain be rid of them, if ye wist how, with honesty; and so would ye of a thousand things which ye have feigned. And the cause why heretics feign no miracles, as ye do, is, that they walk purely, and intend no falsehood: and why the devil doth none for them, is, that they cleave fast to God's word which the devil hateth, and can do no miracles to further it; but to hinder it, as he doth with you. Read the stories of your popes and cardinals, and see whether the devil hath not helped them unto high dignities. And look whether your holy bishops come any otherwise unto their promotions, than by serving the devil; in setting all Christendom at variance, in shedding

False doctrine was never persecuted.

The papists are ashamed of their legend of lies.

The devil hath helped popes to their dignities.

blood, in bringing the commonwealth to tyranny, and in teaching christian princes to rule more cruelly than did ever any heathen, contrary unto the doctrine of Christ.

The cause why the Turks and Jews cannot come to the truth.

And as for the Turks and Saracens, that ye speak of; I answer that they were Christians once, at the leastway for the most part. And because they had no love unto the truth, to live thereafter, (as ye have not,) God did send them false miracles, to carry them out of the right way, as ye be. And as for the Jews, why they bide out, is only because they have set up their own righteousness, as ye have, and therefore cannot admit the righteousness that is in Christ's blood; as ye cannot, and as ye have foresworn it.

Popish doctrine needeth miracles, but Christ's doctrine needeth not now of miracles; for it was confirmed by Christ with miracles.

And when he saith, 'In that they have miracles and the heretics none, it is a sure sign that they be the true church, and the heretics not;' had ye God's word with your miracles, and the heretics' doctrine were without, then it were true. But now, because ye have miracles without God's word, to confirm your false imaginations, and they which ye call heretics have God's word confirmed with miracles, five hundred years together, it is a sure sign that they be the true church and ye not, inasmuch also as Christ saith, that the deceivers shall come with miracles; yea, and in his name thereto, as ye do. For when Christ saith, there shall come in my name, that shall say he himself is Christ; who is that, save your pope, that will be Christ's vicar, and yet maketh men to believe in himself, in his bulls and calves' skins, and in whatsoever he listeth? And who be those false anointed, that shall come with miracles to deceive the elect if it were possible, save your pope with his *gresiamus*[1]*?*

Matt. xxiv.

The pope cometh in Christ's name, with false miracles.

The preachers of God's word confirmed the same with miracles, while they were alive.

And when he repeateth his miracles, to prove that the old holy doctors were good men in the right belief: I answer again, that the doctors which planted God's word watered it with miracles, while they were alive; and when they were dead, God shewed miracles at their graves, to confirm the same, as of Elias. And that continued, till the scripture was fully received and authentic. But ye cannot shew, nor shall, any doctor which, being alive, preached your false doctrine confirming it with miracles, as God doth his scripture.

Then saith he, 'God had in the old testament good men full of miracles, whose living a man might be bold to

[1 A mock Latin word, for *we anoint*.]

follow, and whose doctrine a man might believe, by reason of their miracles;' and then juggleth, saying: 'If God should not so now, in the new testament, have doctors with miracles, to confirm their doctrine and livings, but contrariwise should bring to pass, or suffer to be brought to pass, with false miracles, that his church should take hypocrites for saints, which expounded the scripture falsely; then should he deceive his church, and not have his Spirit present in his church, to teach them all truth, as he promised them.' I answer, God sufferеth not his church to be deceived; but he suffereth the pope's church, because they have no love unto the truth, to live after the laws of God, but consent unto all iniquity, as he suffered the church of Mahomet. Moreover, the gift of miracles was not always among the preachers in the old testament; for John Baptist did no miracle at all: the miracles were ceased long ere Christ. And as for you, in the pope's kingdom [ye] had never man that either confirmed God's doctrine or your own with miracles. All your saints be first saints when they be dead; and then do first miracles, to confirm tithes, and offerings, and the poetry which ye have feigned, and not true doctrine. For to confirm what preaching doth St Thomas of Canterbury miracles? He preached never, nor lived any other life than as our cardinal; and for his mischief died a mischievous death. And of our cardinal, if we be not diligent, they will make a saint also, and make a greater relic of his shoe than of the others.

God suffereth such as have no love to his truth to be deceived with lying miracles.

Why the pope fell.

In the popish church all miracles are wrought by dead saints.

St Thomas of Canterbury.

And of your dead saints let us take one for an example. Thomas de Aquino is a saint full of miracles, as friars tell[2]; and his doctrine was, that our lady was born in original sin. And Duns, doing no miracle at all, because, I suppose, no man wotteth where he lieth, improveth that with his sophistry, and affirmeth the contrary[3]. And of the contrary hath the

Thomas de Aquino.

Duns.

[2 Plurium autem miraculorum gloria [Thomas Aquinas] claruit. Nam et puer cœcum illuminavit, et mulierem a dæmonio vexatam liberavit, et matronam sibi devotam in die paschæ post prædicationem a sanguinis profluvio sanam effecit; aliosque plures adversis languoribus exemit.—Petr. Natal. Catalog. Sanctor. Lib. III. cap. clxxxi. Argentin. 1513.]

[3 In his Sacræ Theologiæ sententiarum Quæstiones perutiles, Duns Scotus examines the question, 'Utrum beata virgo fuerit concepta in originali peccato.' He begins the discussion with observing, Circa primum arguitur quod sicut in Adam omnes peccaverunt (Rom. v.)

pope, for the devotion of that the grey friars gave him, ye may well think, made an article of the faith.

Miracles.

And finally, as for the miracles, they are to make a man astonied and to wonder, and to draw him to hear the word earnestly, rather than to write it in his heart. For whosoever hath no other feeling of the law of God, that it is good, than because of miracles, the same shall believe in Christ as did Simon Magus and Judas, and as they that came out of Egypt with Moses, and fell away at every temptation; and shall have good works like unto our popes, bishops, and cardinals. And therefore, when the scripture is fully received, there is no need of miracles: insomuch that they which will not believe Moses and the prophets, when the scripture is received, the same will be no true believers by the reason of miracles, though one arose from death to life to preach unto them, by the testimony of Christ.

Our faith may not be grounded only upon miracles, but upon the word of God.

And again, how doth St Jerome, Augustine, Bede[1], and many other old doctors, that were before the pope was crope up into the consciences of men, and had sent forth his damnable sects, to preach him under the name of Christ, as Christ prophesied it should be, expound this text, "Thou art Peter, and upon this rock will I build my church;" and this text, "Peter, feed my sheep;" and, "All power is given me in heaven and in earth;" and innumerable such texts clean contrary unto all those new old holy doctors, that have made the pope a god? They knew of no power that man should have in the kingdom of Christ, but to preach Christ truly. They knew of no power that the pope should have, to send to purgatory or to deliver thence; neither of any pardons, nor of any such confession as they preach and teach; neither were many that are articles with you, articles of their faith. They all preached forgiveness of sins through repentance toward the law, and faith in our Saviour Christ: as all the scripture plainly doth, and can no otherwise be taken, and as all the hearts of as many as love the law of God, do feel, as surely as the finger feeleth the fire hot.

Matt. xvi.

John xxi.

The apostles of Christ knew no such authority as the pope now usurpeth.

non nisi quia fuerunt in eo secundum rationem seminalem, ita fuit in eo beata virgo; ergo, &c. But he proceeds to set aside this and every other argument and authority; and determines the question in the negative. Lib. III. Dist. 3. qu. 1.]

[1 See Vol. I. notes to pp. 217, 218.]

An answer unto Master More's Third Book.

In his third book he proceedeth forth as before, to prove that the opinions which the popish teach without scripture are of equal authority with the scripture. He asketh, 'What if there had never been scripture written?' I answer, God careth for his elect; and therefore hath provided them of scripture, to try all things, and to defend them from all false prophets. And I say moreover, that if there had been no scripture written, that God, for his mercy and fatherly love and care towards his elect, must have provided, that there should never have been heresies, or, against all times when sects should arise, have stirred up preachers to confound the heresies with miracles. Take this example: the Greeks have the scripture, and serve God therein, much more diligently than we. Now let us give that there were no scripture, but that we received all our faith by the authority of our elders, and the Greeks by the authority of their elders. When I shall dispute with a Greek about the articles of the faith which my elders taught me, and his elders deny, as ear-confession, the holy pardons of the pope, and all his power that he hath above other bishops, and many other things beside the scripture, which we hold for articles of our faith, and they deny; if there be no other proof of either part than to say, 'My elders, which cannot err, so affirm;' and that he should answer, 'His elders, which cannot err, so deny;' what reason is it, that I should leave the authority of my elders, and go and believe his; or that he should leave the authority of his elders, and come and believe mine? None at all, verily. But the one party must shew a miracle, or else we must refer our causes unto authentic scripture, received in old time, and confirmed with miracles, and therewith try the controversy of our elders.

What if there had been no scripture? W. T.

Greeks.

God, to avoid heresies, caused the scriptures to be written.

And when he asketh, 'whether there were no true faith from Adam to Noe?' I answer, that God partly wrote their faith in their sacrifices, and partly the patriarchs were full of miracles, as ye may see in the bible.

Noah.

And when More, to utter his darkness and blind ignorance saith, that 'they which were overwhelmed with Noe's flood had a good faith,' and bringeth for him Nicolas de Lyra[2]; I

What faith saveth.

[2 'Now as for the days, quod I, of Noe himself, though there were

answer, that Nicolas de Lyra *delirat*. For it is impossible to have a faith to be saved by, except a man consent unto God's law with all his heart and all his soul, that it is righteous, holy, good, and to be kept of all men, and thereupon repent that he hath broken it, and sorrow that his flesh moveth unto the contrary; and then come and believe that God for his mercy will forgive him all that he hath done against the law, and will help him to tame his flesh, and suffer his weakness in the mean season, till he be waxed stronger: which faith if they that perished in Noe's flood had had, they could not but have mended their livings, and had not hardened their hearts through unbelief, and provoked the wrath of God, and waxed worse and worse an hundred and twenty years, which God gave them to repent; until God could no longer suffer them, but washed their filthiness away with the flood, (as he doth the pope's shameful[1] abominations with like inundations of water,) and destroyed them utterly.

Where true faith is, there is repentance and amendment of life.

few saved alive, yet proveth not that the people to be all miscreants and without faith. For it fared by them as it fareth now by us, that there were many that believed the truth and had a faith; but they followed the flesh, and sank for their sin. And albeit that in the first epistle of St Peter it might seem some incredulity in them, yet may it be that it stretched no further than to the lack of fear in the credence of God's commination, and overmuch hope and boldness of God's further favour and sufferance; whereof they repented after, too late for this present life, and yet many through God's mercy not too late for the final salvation of their souls (as appeareth by the good and great clerk, Nicolaus de Lyra, upon the same place), which could in no wise have been so if they had lacked faith.' More's Works, p. 205. The passage referred to in N. de Lyra is: Potest dici probabiliter quod, videntes diluvium increscere secundum quod prædixerat Noe, crediderunt multi, qui prius erant increduli, et penituerunt de peccatis suis, et sic descenderunt ad limbum cum patribus aliis. Si autem contra hoc dicatur quod diluvium venit sic subito quod non potuerunt penitere; secundum quod videtur Salvator dicere, Edebant et bibebant &c. et venit diluvium et perdidit omnes; Dicendum quod licet subito venerit in vallibus et plana terra, non tamen sic in montibus, quia aquæ in augmento suo posuerunt quadraginta dies et quadraginta noctes. Et sic habitantes in locis arduis videntes aquas increscere, sicut dixerat Noe, potuerunt penitere; et forte de aliis sicut de istis dicitur, 'Qui in credulí fuerant aliquando,' scilicet ante inundationem diluvii, sed tunc crediderunt. Part. VI. 221. D. Basil. 1508. Postill. in 1 Pet. iii. 19.]

[1 So D., but C. U. L. ed. has *same*.]

And when he asketh, 'whether Abraham believed no more than was written for him?' I ask him how he will prove that there was no writing in Abraham's time, and that Abraham wrote not? And again, as for Abraham's person, he received his faith of God; which to confirm unto others, miracles were shewed daily. Abraham.

And when he feigneth forth, that 'they believed only because they knew their elders could not err:' how could they know that without miracles, or writing confirmed with miracles, more than the Turk knoweth that his elders, so many hundred years, in so great a multitude cannot err; and teach false doctrine, to damn the believers? And the contrary doth Master More see in all the bible, how after all was received in scripture, confirmed with miracles, and though miracles ceased not, but were shewed daily, yet the elders erred and fell to idolatry, an hundred for one that bode in the right way; and led the younger into error with them so sore, that God, to save the younger, was fain to destroy the elders, and to begin his testament afresh with the new generation. The elders did err. W. T. The elders in the time of the Jews did err.

He seeth also that the most part were alway idolaters, for all the scripture and true miracles thereto, and believed the false miracles of the devil, because his doctrine was more agreeable unto their carnal understanding than the doctrine of God's Spirit; as it now goeth with the pope. Did not scribes, Pharisees, and priests, which were the elders, err? The scribes, Pharisees and elders did err.

And when he asketh, 'who taught the church to know the true scripture from false books'? I answer, true miracles, that confounded the false, gave authority unto the true scripture. And thereby have we ever since judged all other books and doctrine; and by that we know that your legends be corrupt with lies: as Erasmus hath improved many false books, which ye have feigned and put forth in the name of St Jerome, Augustine, Cyprian, Dionyse, and of other, partly with authentic stories, and partly by the style and Latin, and like evident tokens. The scripture was authorised by true miracles. False books set forth by the papists. Erasmus.

And when M. More saith, 'unto them that believe nought but the scripture he will prove with the scripture, that we be bound to believe the church in things, wherefor they have no scripture; because God hath promised in the scripture that the Holy Ghost shall teach his church all truth:' nay, that text will not prove it. For the first church taught nought,

The true church teacheth nothing but that which the scripture proveth and maintaineth.

but they confirmed it with miracles, which could not be done but of God, till the scripture was authentically received. And the church following teacheth nought that they will have believed, as an article of the faith, but that which the scripture proveth and maintaineth: as St Augustine protesteth of his works, that men should compare them unto the scripture, and thereby judge them, and cast away whatsoever the scripture did not allow[1]. And therefore they that will be believed without scripture are false hypocrites, and not Christ's church. For though I know that that messenger which Christ sendeth cannot lie; yet in a company where many liars be, I cannot know which is he, without a token of scripture or of miracle.

And when he saith 'the scripture itself maketh us not to believe the scripture, but the church teacheth us to know the scripture; for a man might read it, and not believe it[2]:' and so I say, that a man might hear you preach, and yet believe you not also. And I say thereto, that your church teacheth not to know the scripture, but hideth it in the Latin from the common people; and from them that understand Latin they hide the true sense with a thousand false glosses. And I say moreover, that the scripture is the cause why men believe the scripture; as well as a preacher is the cause why men believe his preaching. For as he that first told in England that the Rhodes was taken, was the cause why some believed it; even so might writing, sent from those parts, be the cause that some men which read it believed it. M. More will say, that letter had his authority of the man that sent it; and so hath the scripture her authority of the church. Nay, the scripture hath her authority of him that sent it, that is to wete, of God, which thing the miracles did testify; and not of the man that brought it.

The pope hideth the scripture. W. T.

The papists hide the scripture.

The scripture is the cause why men believe the scripture.

He will say, thou knowest the scripture by their shewing. I grant, at the beginning I do. Then will he say, 'Why should ye not believe them, in all their other doctrine besides the scripture, and in all their expositions of the scripture, as

The papists' doctrine is not to be believed without scripture.

[1 Noli meis literis quasi scripturis canonicis inservire: sed in illis et quod non credebas cum inveneris, incunctanter crede; in istis autem quod certum non habebas nisi certum intellexeris, noli firmiter retinere.—Aug. de Trinit. Lib. III. Prœem.]

[2 More's Works, p. 206.]

well as ye believe them, when they tell you that such and such books are the scripture? May they not shew you a false book?' Yes, and therefore at the beginning I believe all alike. Every lie that they tell, out of their own brains, we believe to be scripture; and so should I believe them if they shewed me a false book: but when I have read the scripture, and find not their doctrine there, nor depend[3] thereof, I do not give so great credence unto their other doctrine, as unto the scripture. Why? For I find more witnesses unto the scripture than unto their other doctrine. I find whole nations and countries that receive the scripture, and refuse their other doctrine, and their expositions in many places. And I find the scripture otherwise expounded of them of old time, than they, which now will be the church, expound it: whereby their doctrine is the more suspect. I find mention made of the scripture in stories, that it was, when I can find no mention or likelihood, that their doctrine was. I find in all ages that men have resisted their doctrine with the scripture, and have suffered death by the hundred thousands in resisting their doctrine. I see their doctrine brought in and maintained by a contrary way to that by which the scripture was brought in. I find by the self-same scripture, when I look diligently thereon, that their other doctrine cannot stand therewith. I find in the scripture that they which have not Christ's Spirit, to follow the steps of his living, pertain not unto Christ (Rom. viii.). I find in the scripture, that they which walk in their carnal birth, after the manner of the children of Adam, cannot understand the things of the Spirit of God (1 Cor. ii.). I find in the scripture that they which seek glory cannot believe Christ (John v.). I find in the scripture, that they which submit not themselves to do the will of God, cannot know what doctrine is of God, and what not (John vii.). I find in the scripture, (Jer. xxxi. and Heb. viii.), that all the children of God, which only are the true members of his church, have every one of them the law of God written in their hearts; so that if there were no law to compel, they would yet naturally, out of their own hearts, keep the law of God; yea, and against violence compelling to the contrary.

Why the pope is not to be believed without scripture, and why he is not the true church. W. T.

The doctrine of the papists hath been many times resisted by the scripture.

What things we find in scripture.

Rom. viii.

1 Cor. ii.

John v.

John vii.

Heb. viii. Jer. xxxi.

And I see that they which will be the church, (and to

[3 Depend, for to depend.]

prove it, have[1] not so great trust in the scripture as in their sophistry, and in the sword which they have set up in all lands, to keep them with violence in the room,) are so far off from having the laws of God written in their hearts, that they neither by God's law, nor man's, refrain from their open outward wicked living. Look in the chronicles, what blood it hath cost England, to attempt to bring them under the law! Yea, and see what business the realm hath had to keep the prelates within the realm from taking the benefices with them, and lying at Rome, and yet scarcely brought it to pass, for all that the pope hath the stint of every bishoprick and of every great abbey thereto, as oft as any is void, ere a new be admitted to the room. And I see them bond unto their own will, and both to do, and to consent unto other to do, all that God hath forbidden. I see them, of all people, most vain-glorious. I see them walk after their fleshly birth. I see them so far off from the image of Christ, that not only they will not die for their flock after his ensample, but also ere they would lose one town, or village, any polling, or privilege which they have falsely gotten, bringing themselves into good pastures with wiles, and shutting their flock without, they would cast away an hundred thousand of them in one day, and beggar their realms, yea, and interdict them, and bring in strange nations, though it were the Turks, to conquer them and slay them up, so much as the innocent in the cradle. And I see that their other doctrine is for their vantage only, and that therewith they have gotten all that they have.

The papists will neither by God's law nor man's refrain from their wicked living.

John x. The papists will lose nothing that belongeth to them.

And I find in the scripture that the Jews, before the coming of Christ, knew that those books were the scripture by the scribes and the Pharisees. And yet as many as believed their other doctrine, and many expositions of the scripture, were deceived, as ye see; and how Christ delivered them out of error. And I see again (which is no small miracle), that the merciful care of God to keep the scripture to be a testimony unto his elect is so great, that no men be more jealous over the books, to keep them, and shew them, and to allege that they be the scripture of God and true, than they which, when it is read in their ears, have no power to believe it; as the Jews and the popish. And therefore, because they neither can believe it false, neither consent that it is true as it sound-

Christ delivered the Jews out of error.

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None have more care of the scripture than

[1] So C. U. L. ed. but D. *hath*.]

eth plainly in their ears, in that it is so contrary unto their fleshly wisdom, from which they cannot depart; they seek a thousand glosses, to turn it into another sense, to make it agree unto their beastliness; and where it will receive no such glosses, there they think that no man understandeth it. those that believe it not.

Then in the end of the chapter M. More cometh unto his wise conclusion, and proveth nothing, save sheweth his ignorance, as in all things. He saith, 'We believe the doctrine of the scripture without scripture, as for an ensample, the pope's pardons, because only that the church so teacheth, though no scripture confirmeth it.' Why so? 'Because,' saith he, 'the Holy Ghost by inspiration, if I do my endeavour, and captivate mine understanding, teacheth me to believe the church concerning God's word, taught by the church and graven in men's hearts without scripture, as well as he teacheth us to believe words written in the scripture.' Mark where he is now. Afore he saith, 'the scripture causeth us not to believe the scripture; for a man may read it and believe it not.' And much more the preacher maketh us not to believe the preacher; for a man may hear him and believe him not also: as we see the apostles could not cause all men to believe them. For though the scripture be an outward instrument, and the preacher also, to move men to believe, yet the chief and principal cause why a man believeth, or believeth not, is within: that is, the Spirit of God teacheth his children to believe; and the devil blindeth his children, and keepeth them in unbelief, and maketh them to consent unto lies, and think good evil, and evil good: as the Acts of the apostles say in many places, "There believed as many as were ordained unto everlasting life." And Christ saith (John viii.), "They that be of God hear God's word." And unto the wicked Jews he saith, "Ye cannot believe, because ye be not of God." And in the same place saith he, "Ye be of your father the devil, and his will ye will do; and he bode not in the truth," and therefore will not suffer his children to consent to the truth. And (John in the xth) saith Christ, "All that came before me be thieves and murderers, but my sheep heard not their voices:" that is, all that preach any salvation save in Christ, murder the souls. Howbeit, Christ's sheep could not consent to their lies, as the rest cannot but believe lies; so that there is ever a remnant kept by grace. And of this I have seen divers examples. I have known as

M. More reasoneth against himself.

Acts xiii.

John viii.

John x. They that preach not Christ truly are murderers.

The end of hypocrites.

holy men as might be, as the world counteth holiness, which at the hour of death had no trust in God at all, but cried, 'Cast holy water, light the holy candle,' and so forth; sore lamenting that they must die. And I have known other which were despised, as men that cared not for their divine service, which at death have fallen so flat upon the blood of Christ as is possible, and have preached unto other mightily, as it had been an apostle of our Saviour, and comforted them with comfort of the life to come, and have died so gladly, that they would have received no world's good to bide still in the flesh. And thus is M. More fallen upon predestination, and is compelled, with violence of scripture, to confess that which he hateth and studieth to make appear false, to establish free will withal, not so much of ignorance, I fear, as for lucre sake, and to get honour, promotion, dignity, and money, by help of our mitred monsters. Take example of Balaam, the false prophet, which gave counsel and sought means, through like blind covetousness, to make the truth, and prophecy which God had shewed him, false. He had the knowledge of the truth, but without love thereto, and therefore for vantage became enemy unto the truth: but what became of him?

Predestination.

Balaam.

But M. More peppereth his conclusion, lest men should feel the taste, saying, 'If we endeavour ourselves, and captive our understanding to believe[1].' O how beetle-blind is fleshly reason! The will hath none operation at all in the working of faith in my soul, no more than the child hath in the begetting of his father: for, saith Paul, "It is the gift of God," and not of us. My wit must conclude good or bad, ere my will can love or hate. My wit must shew me a true cause, or an apparent cause why, ere my will have any working at all. And of that peppering it well appeareth what the pope's faith

Wit must first shew a cause, and then will is stirred to work.

[1 "As when we hear the scripture or read it, if we be not rebellious, but endeavour ourselves to believe, and captive and subdue our understanding to serve and follow faith, praying for his gracious aid and help, he then worketh with us, and inwardly doth incline our heart into the assent of that we read, and after a little spark of our faith increaseth the credence in our incredulity; so doth his goodness, in like wise, incline and move the mind of every like toward and like well-willing body, to the giving of fast and firm credence to the faith that the church teacheth him, in such things as be not in the scripture, and to believe that God hath taught his church those things without writing." More's Dial. Works, p. 206.]

is; even a blind imagination of their natural wit, wrought without the light of the Spirit of God, agreeing unto their voluptuous lusts, in which their beastly will so delighteth, that he will not let their wits attend unto any other learning, for unquieting himself, and stirring from his pleasure and delectation.

And thus we be as far asunder as ever we were, and his mighty arguments prove not the value of a poding-prick[2]. M. More feeleth in his heart by inspiration, and with his endeavouring himself and captivating his understanding to believe it, that there is a purgatory as hot as hell; wherein if a silly soul were appointed by God to lie a thousand years, to purge him withal, the pope, for the value of a groat, shall command him thence full purged in the twinkling of an eye; and by as good reason, if he were going thence, keep him there still. He feeleth by inspiration, and in captivating his wits, that the pope can work wonders with a calf's skin; that he can command one to eat flesh, though he be never so lusty, and that another eat none on pain of damnation, though he should die for lack of it; and that he can forgive sin and not the pain, and as much and as little of the pain, or all if he lust, and yet can neither help him to love the law, or to believe, or to hate the flesh, seeing he preacheth not. And such things innumerable M. More feeleth true; and therefore believeth that the pope is the true church.

More feeleth purgatory. W. T.

Popish doctrine concerning purgatory.

The pope, how he can both forgive and retain sin.

And I clean contrary feel, that there is no such worldly and fleshly imagined purgatory. For I feel that the souls be purged only by the word of God, and doctrine of Christ; as it is written (John xv.), "Ye be clean through the word," saith Christ to his apostles. And I feel again, that he which is clean through the doctrine needeth not but to wash his feet only, for his head and hands are clean already (John xiii.); that is, he must tame his flesh, and keep it under, for his soul is clean already through the doctrine. I feel also that bodily pain doth but purge the body only; insomuch that the pain not only purgeth not the soul, but maketh it more foul, except that there be kind learning by, to purge the soul: so that the more a man beateth his son, the worse he is, except he teach him lovingly, and shew him kindness besides; partly to keep him from desperation, and partly that he fall not into

How Tyndale feeleth purgatory. W. T.

John xv.

John xiii.

Bodily pain purgeth the body, and not the soul.

[2 Or pudding-fork. More in this same book of his Dialogue speaks of "a great post well thwyted to a pudding-prick."]

hate of his father and of his commandment thereto, and think that his father is a tyrant and his law but tyranny.

M. More is of an evil opinion.

M. More feeleth, with his good endeavour and inspiration together, that a man may have the best faith coupled with the worst life and with consenting to sin. And I feel that it is impossible to believe truly, except a man repent; and that it is impossible to trust in the mercy that is in Christ, or to feel it, but that a man must immediately love God and his commandments, and therefore disagree and disconsent unto the flesh, and be at bate therewith, and fight against it. And I feel that every soul that loveth the law, and hateth his flesh, and believeth in Christ's blood, hath his sins which he committed, and pain which he deserved, in hating the law and consenting unto his flesh, forgiven him by that faith. And I feel that the frailty of the flesh, against which a believing soul fighteth to subdue it, is also forgiven, and not reckoned or imputed for sin, all the time of our curing: as a kind father and mother reckon not, or impute the impossibility of their young children to consent unto their law; and as when the children be of age and consent, then they reckon not nor impute the impossibility of the flesh to follow it immediately, but take all aworth, and love them no less, but rather more tenderly than their old and perfect children that do their commandments, so long as they go to school, and learn such things as their fathers and mothers set them to.

Faith in Christ's blood purchaseth forgiveness of sins.

And I believe that every soul that repenteth, believeth, and loveth the law, is through that faith a member of Christ's church, and pure, without spot or wrinkle, as Paul affirmeth (Eph. v.): And it is an article of my belief, that Christ's elect church is holy and pure without sin, and every member of the same, through faith in Christ; and that they be in the full favour of God. And I feel that the uncleanness of the soul is but the consent unto sin and unto the flesh. And therefore I feel that every soul that believeth, and consenteth unto the law, and here in this life hateth his flesh and the lusts thereof, and doth his best to drive sin out of his flesh, and for hate of the sin gladly departeth from his flesh; when he is dead, and the lusts of the flesh slain with death, needeth not as it were bodily tormenting, to be purged of that whereof he is quit already. And therefore, if aught remain, it is but to be taught, and not to be beaten. And I feel that every

Ephes. v.

There is no purgatory for him that dieth repentant, and believeth.

soul, that beareth fruit in Christ, shall be purged of the Father to bear more fruit day by day, as is written (John xv.), not in the pope's purgatory, where no man feeleth it, but here in this life such fruit as is unto his neighbour's profit; so that he which hath his hope in Christ purgeth himself here, as Christ is pure (1 John iii.); and that ever yet the blood of Jesus only doth purge us of all our sins, for the imperfectness of our works. And I feel that the forgiveness of sins is to remit mercifully the pain that I have deserved. And I do believe that the pain that I here suffer in my flesh is to keep the body under, and to serve my neighbour, and not to make satisfaction unto God for the fore sins.

John xv.

1 John iii.

Pain of sin.

And therefore, when the pope describeth God after his covetous complexion, and when Master More feeleth by inspiration, and captivating his wits unto the pope, that God forgiveth the everlasting pain, and will yet punish me a thousand years in the pope's purgatory, that leaven savoureth not in my mouth. I understand my father's words as they sound, and after the most merciful manner; and not after the pope's leaven and M. More's captivating his wits, to believe that every poet's fable is a true story. There is no father here that punisheth his son to purge him, when he is purged already, and hath utterly forsaken sin and evil, and hath submitted himself unto his father's doctrine. For to punish a man that has forsaken sin of his own accord, is not to purge him, but to satisfy the lust of a tyrant: neither ought it to be called purgatory, but a jail of tormenting, and a satisfactory. And when the pope saith it is done to satisfy the righteousness, as a judge, I say we that believe have no judge of him, but a father; neither shall we come into judgment, as Christ hath promised us, but are received under grace, mercy, and forgiveness. Shew the pope a little money, and God is so merciful that there is no purgatory. And why is not the fire out as well, if I offer for me the blood of Christ? If Christ hath deserved all for me, who gave the pope might to keep part of his deservings from me, and to buy and sell Christ's merits, and to make merchandise over us with feigned words? And thus, as M. More feeleth that the pope is holy church, I feel that he is antichrist; and as my feeling can be no proof to him, no more can his, with all his captivating his wits to believe

The pope's leaven.

Purgatory profitable to the pope.

Purgatory is a tormenting jail, as the pope maketh it.

Money dispatcheth purgatory.

The pope is antichrist.

phantasies, be unto me. Wherefore, if he have no other probation, to prove that the pope is holy church, than that his heart so agreeth unto his learning, he ought of no right to compel with sword unto his sect. Howbeit there are ever two manner people that will cleave unto God, a fleshly and a spiritual. The spiritual, which be of God, shall hear God's word; and the children of the truth shall consent unto the truth. And contrary, the fleshly and children of falsehood and of the devil, whose hearts be full of lies, shall naturally consent unto lies: as young children, though they have eat themselves as good as dead with fruit, yet will not, nor cannot, believe him that telleth them that such fruit is naught; but him that praiseth them will they hear, and eat themselves stark dead, because their hearts be full of lies, and they judge all things as they appear unto the eyes. And the fleshly-minded, as soon as he believeth of God as much as the devil doth, he hath enough; and goeth to, and serveth God with bodily service, as he before served his idols, and after his own imagination; and not in the spirit, in loving his laws and believing his promises, or longing for them: no, if he might ever live in the flesh, he would never desire them. And God must do for him again, not what God hath[1] promised, but what he lusteth. And his brother that serveth God in the spirit, according to God's word, him will the carnal beast persecute: so that he which will godly live, must suffer persecution unto the world's end, according to the doctrine of Christ and of his apostles, and according unto the ensamples that are gone before.

The fleshly children do naturally consent unto lies.

The fleshly-minded can never consent unto God's law.

The fleshly persecute them of the Spirit.

And finally, I have better reasons for my feeling that the pope is antichrist, than M. More hath for his endeavouring himself, and captivating his wits, that he is the true church. For the church that was the true messenger of God, hath ever shewed a sign and a badge thereof, either a present miracle or authentic scripture; insomuch that Moses, when he was sent, asked, "How shall they believe me?" And God gave him a sign, as ever before and since. Neither was there any other cause of the writing of the new and the last and everlasting Testament, than that when miracles ceased, we might have wherewith to defend ourselves against false doctrine and heresies; which we could not do, if we

The true church is not without a sign or a miracle to prove that it is God's church.

[1 So C. U. L. ed. D. has *he had*.]

were bound to believe that were nowhere written. And again, if the pope could not err in his doctrine, he could not sin of purpose and profession, abominably and openly, above the Turks and all the heathen that ever were; and defend it so maliciously as he hath, eight hundred years long; and will not be reformed; and maketh them his saints and his defenders, that sin as he doth. He persecuteth as the carnal church ever did, when the scripture is away; he proveth his doctrine with the scripture, and as soon as the scripture cometh to light, he runneth away unto his sophistry and unto his sword. We see also by stories how your confession, penance, and pardons, are come up; and whence your purgatory is sprung. And your falsehood in the sacraments we see by open scripture. And all your works we rebuke with the scripture; and therewith prove that the false belief, that ye couple to them, may not stand with the true faith that is in our Saviour Jesus.

The pope's life and doctrine is more wicked than the Turks and all the heathen that ever were.

The Second Chapter.

In the end of the second chapter he bringeth in "Eutychus, that fell out at a window, (Acts xx.) whom," saith he, "St Paul's merits did recover." Verily, Paul durst not say so; but that Christ's merits did it. Peter saith, (Acts iii.), "Ye men of Israel, why gaze ye and stare upon us, as though we by our power and godliness had made this man go?" Nay, the name of Jesus, and faith that is in him, hath given him strength and made him sound. And even here it was the name of Jesus, through Paul's faith, that did that miracle; and not Paul's merits, though he were never so holy.

Eutychus. Acts xx.

Acts iii.

All glory and honour is to be given to the name of Jesus.

The Third Chapter.

In the third chapter he saith, that "Bilney's judges, (which he yet nameth not, for fear of slandering them) were indifferent." Nay, they that take rewards be not indifferent: for rewards and gifts "blind the eyes of the seeing, and pervert the words of the righteous" (Deut. xvi.). Now all they that be shorn take great rewards to defend pilgrimages, purgatory, and praying unto saints: even the third part, I trow, of all Christendom. For all they have, they have received in the name of purgatory and of saints; and

Judges.

Deut. xvi.

Purgatory is the foundation of abbeys, colleges, &c.

on that foundation be all their bishopricks, abbeys, colleges, and cathedral churches built. If they be indifferent judges, they must be made servants, and do service as their duty is. And when they have done a quarter's service, then give them wages, as right is: unto every man that laboureth in Christ's harvest a sufficient living, and no more; and that in the name of his labour, and not of saints, and so forth. And then they shall be more indifferent judges, when there cometh no vantage to judge more on one side than another.

The Fourth Chapter.

In the end of the fourth he saith, "The man[1] took an oath secretly, and was dismissed with secret penance." O hypocrites! why dare ye not do it openly?

The Fifth Chapter.

In the fifth, the messenger asketh him whether he were present? And he denieth and saith ever, 'He heard say.' Alas, sir! why take you bribes to defend that you know not? Why suffer you not them that were present, and to whom the matter pertaineth, to lie for themselves?

M. More is a common jester, and a scoffer.

Then he jesteth out the matter with Wilkin and Simkin, as he doth Hunne[2] and every thing; because men should not consider their falsehood earnestly. Wherein behold his subtle conveyance. He asketh, "What, if Simkin would have sworn that he saw men make those prints?" Whereunto M. More answereth under the name of 'quod he,' that he "would swear that, besides the loss of the wager, he had lost his honesty and his soul thereto." Behold this man's gravity: how could you that do, when the case is possible? You should have put him to his proofs, and bid him bring record[3].

Then saith he, "the church receiveth no man convict of heresy unto mercy; but of mercy receiveth him to open shame." Of such mercy, God give them plenty that are so merciful.

[1 That is, Bilney.]

[2 In the fifteenth chapter, yet to be noticed.]

[3 It would require the insertion of a tedious poor jest of More's, to make all the clauses of this paragraph thoroughly intelligible to the reader.]

Then he sheweth "how merciful they were, to receive the man to penance, that abode still in perjury and deadly sin." O shameless hypocrites! how can ye receive into the congregation of Christ an open obstinate sinner, that repenteth not, when ye are commanded of Christ to cast all such out? And again, O scribes and Pharisees, by what example of Christ and of his doctrine can ye put a man that repenteth unto open shame; and to that thing whereby ever after he is had in derision among his brethren, of whom he ought to be loved, and not mocked? Ye might enjoin honest things, to tame his flesh, as prayer and fasting; and not that which should be to him shame ever after, and such as ye yourselves would not do.

The papists are cruel and unmerciful.

The Seventh Chapter.

In the seventh chapter, he maketh much to do about swearing, and that for a subtle purpose. Notwithstanding, the truth is, that no judge ought to make a man swear against his will, for many inconvenients. If a man receive an office, he that putteth him in the room ought to charge him to do it truly, and may, and haply ought, to take an oath of him. If a man offer himself to bear witness, the judge may, and of some haply ought, to take an oath of them; but to compel a man to bear witness, ought he not. And moreover, if a judge put a man to an oath, that he shall answer unto all that he shall be demanded of, he ought to refuse. Howbeit, if he have sworn, and then the wicked judge ask him of things hurtful unto his neighbour, and against the love that is in Christ, then he must repent that he hath sworn; but not sin again to fulfil his oath. For it is against God's commandment, that a man should hurt his neighbour that hath not deserved it.

Swearing.

The oath of a witness may be taken, but no man may be compelled to swear, and be a witness.

A godly lesson.

The Eighth Chapter.

Unto 'church, priest, charity, grace, confession and penance,' is answered him in the beginning of the book. And when he saith "Tyndale was confederate with Luther," that is not truth.

M. More is a liar.

The Ninth Chapter.

Than his ninth chapter, is there nothing more foolish.

For if he would have any wise man to believe that my translation would destroy the mass, any otherwise than the Latin or Greek text, he should have alleged the place, and how.

The Eleventh Chapter.

In the eleventh chapter, M. More will not defend the living of our spiritualty; because it is so open that he cannot. And as little should he be able to defend their lies, if the light were abroad that men might see. And as he cannot deny them abominable, so cannot he deny them obstinate and indurate therein; for they have been oft rebuked with God's word, but in vain. And of such the text is plain, that they cannot understand the scripture. And yet M. More will receive rewards, to dispute against the heresies of some such as be cast out of Christ's churches by such holy patriarchs, whose livings he himself cannot praise: as holy Judas, though the prelates of his church, that is the Pharisees, were never so abominable, yet because Christ's doctrine was condemned of them, as of God's church that could not err, and all that believed on him excommunicate, he was bold to say, *Quid vultis mihi dare, et ego tradam eum vobis?* that is, "What will ye give me, and I will deliver him unto you?"

The papists are obstinate and will not repent.

Judas.

The Twelfth Chapter.

In the twelfth he hath one conclusion, that "the prayers of an evil priest profit not." Which though it be true, yet the contrary is believed among a great many in all quarters of England; so blind be the people, and wot not what prayer meaneth. I have heard men of no small reputation say, ere this, in great audience, that it maketh no matter whether the priest were good or bad, so he took money to pray, (as they seldom pray without;) for he could not hurt the prayer, were he never so naughty.

Prayers of an evil priest profit not. W. T.

A fond saying.

And when he saith that "the evil priest hurteth us not so much with his living, as he profiteth us with ministering the sacraments;" O worldly wisdom! if a man lead me through a jeopardous place by day, he cannot hurt me so greatly as by night. The Turk seeth that murder, theft, extortion, oppression, and adultery be sin. But when he leadeth me by the

darkness of sacraments without signification, I cannot but catch harm, and put my trust and confidence in that which is neither God nor his word. As for an ensample, what trust put the people in anoiling, and how they cry for it, with no other knowledge than that the oil saveth them; unto their damnation, and denying of Christ's blood!

To minister sacraments without signification is to be led in darkness.

And when he saith, "the priest offereth, or sacrificeth Christ's body;" I answer, "Christ was offered once for all," as it is to see in the epistle to the Hebrews. As the priest slayeth Christ, breaketh his body, and sheddeth his blood, so he sacrificeth him and offereth him. Now the priest slayeth him not actually, nor breaketh his body actually, nor sheddeth his blood actually, neither scourgeth him, and so forth, throughout all his passion; but representeth his slaying, his body-breaking, and blood-shedding for my sins, and all the rest of his passion, and playeth it before mine eyes only: which signification of the mass because the people understand not, therefore they receive no forgiveness of their sins thereby; and thereto cannot but catch hurt in their souls, through a false faith, as it well appeareth how every man cometh thereto for a sundry imagination, all ignorant of the true way.

Sacrifice.

Heb. x.

Christ's body in the sacrament is not carnal, but spiritual.

Let no man beguile you with his juggling sophistry. Our offering of Christ is to believe in him, and to come with a repenting heart unto the remembrance of his passion; and to desire God the Father, for the breaking of Christ's body on the cross, and shedding of his blood, and for his death, and all his passions, to be merciful unto us, and to forgive us, according to his testament and promise: and so we receive forgiveness of our sins. And other offering or sacrificing of Christ, is there now none. Walk in the open light and feeling; and let not yourselves be led with juggling words, as mules and asses in which there is none understanding.

Christ was sacrificed on the cross once for all.

More:—"Deacons were had in price in the old time[1]."

[1 "The time hath been when there were very few [priests] in a great city; and in a monastery of 500, in one house, scantly would there four monks be bold to be priests. Then was all holy orders in high honour. Then find we that the degree of a deacon was a great thing; and of such dignity that when one of them went sometime in pilgrimage, he would not be aknowen of his order," [See Vol. I. p. 465], "because he would not that folk should do him worship by the way." Dial. p. 227.]

Deacons.

Tyndale :—For the deacons then took the care of all the poor; and suffered none to go a begging, but provided a living for every one of them: where now they that should be deacons make themselves priests, and rob the poor of lands, rents, offerings and all that was given them, devouring all themselves, and the poor dying for hunger.

Christ's deacons and the pope's deacons differ much.

More :—"Priests be despised because of the multitude."

Priests.

Tyndale :—If there were but one in the world, as men say of the phœnix, yet if he lived abominably, he could not but be despised.

More :—"A man may have a good faith coupled with all manner sin[1]."

Tyndale :—A good faith putteth away all sin: how then can all manner of[2] sin dwell with a good faith? I dare say, that M. More durst affirm, that a man might love God and hate his neighbour both at once; and yet St John, in his epistle, will say that he saith untruly. But Master More meaneth of the best faith that ever he felt. By all likelihood he knoweth of none other, but such as may stand with all wickedness, neither in himself nor in his prelates: wherefore inasmuch as their faith may stand with all that Christ hateth, I am sure he looketh but for small thanks[3] of God for his defending of them; and therefore he playeth surely, to take his reward here of our holy patriarchs.

1 John iv.

M. More's faith was a common faith.

More :—"Few durst be priests in the old time."

Tyndale :—Then they knew the charge, and feared God. But now they know the vantage, and dread him not.

More :—"If the laws of the church were executed, which Tyndale and Luther would have burnt[4], it would be better."

Tyndale :—If the testament of our Saviour might be known, for blind wretches and covetous tyrants, it would write the law of God in all men's hearts that believed it; and then should men naturally, and without compulsion, keep all

[1 Though no such affirmation appears in this chapter of the Dialogue, as printed in 1557, More does not charge Tyndale, in his Confutacyon, with having misrepresented him in this instance. In fact, he had taught this doctrine, in what he had said about the sinners drowned by the flood. See p. 134.]

[2 So D., but C. U. L. has *alway sin.*]

[3 So D., but C. U. L. has *thanges.*]

[4 An allusion to Luther's burning the pope's decretals.]

honesty. And again, though the pope's law could help, yet is no[5] law as good as a law unexecuted. As good no law, as a law not executed.

The Thirteenth Chapter.

In the thirteenth he rageth, and fareth exceeding foul with himself. There he biteth, sucketh, gnaweth, towseth and mowseth Tyndale[6]. There he weeneth that he hath won his spurs, and that it is not possible to answer him. And yet there, because he there most standeth in his own conceit, I doubt not, unto them that be learned in Christ, to prove him most ignorant of all, and clean without understanding of godly things. Priests may have wives.

And I say yet, that as no woman ought to rule a man's office, where a man is present, by the order of nature; and as a young man ought not to be chosen to minister in the church, where an old, meet for the room, may be had, by the order of nature; even so it was Paul's meaning to prefer the married before the unmarried, for the inconveniences that might chance by the reason of unchastity: which inconveniences M. More might see, with sorrow of heart, (if he had as great love to Christ as to other things,) to happen daily unto the shame of Christ's doctrine among priests, friars, and monks, partly with open whores, partly with their sodomitry, whereof they cast each other in the teeth daily in every abbey, for the least displeasure that one doth to another. M. More might see what occasions of unchastity be given unto the curates[7] every where, by the reason of their office and daily conversation with the married. Age is to be preferred before youth. The chaste unchastity of the papists is abominable both to God and man.

And when he saith, never man could find that exposition

[5 So D., but C. U. L. has *is not yet no*, and puts the clause interrogatively.]

[6 Such is Tyndale's notice of More's language in the following passage: "Tyndale (whose books be nothing else in effect but the worst heresies picked out of Luther's works, and Luther's worst words translated by Tyndale, and put forth in Tyndale's own name) doth in his frantic book of Obedience (wherein he raileth at large against all popes, against all kings, against all prelates, all priests, all religious, all the laws, all the saints, against the sacraments of Christ's church, against all virtuous works, against all divine service, and finally against all thing that in effect good is), in that book, I say, Tyndale holdeth that priests must have wives." Dial. p. 228.]

[7 Persons having the care of souls.]

St Jerome.

till now; there he saith untrue. For St Jerome himself saith that he knew them that so expounded the text; and rebuked them of Rome, because they would not admit into the clergy them that had had two wives, the one before baptism, and the other after, saying: 'If a man had killed twenty men before his baptism, they would not have forbidden him; and why then should that which is no sin at all be a let unto him[1]?' But the god of Rome would not hear him. For Satan began then to work his mysteries of wickedness.

The pope judgeth no sin to be sin, and sin to be no sin.

And when he saith, he that hath ten wives hath but one wife[2]; I say that one is taken, by the use of speaking, for one only: as when I say, 'I am content to give thee one,' meaning one only; and, 'Unto him that hath no help, is there one help,—to look for no help:' where one help is taken for one only; and many places else.

And when M. More saith, "He that hath had two wives, one after another, may not be priest;" and that, "If a priest's wife die, he may not have another;" or that, "If he were made priest, having no wife, he might not after marry, if he burnt;" I desire a reason of him. If he say, 'It hath been so the use:' Then, say I, an whore is better than a wife; for that hath been the use of our holy father many hundred years. But

A priest by the pope's order may

[1 More speaks of the text, in 1 Tim. iii. 2. "A bishop then must be blameless, the husband of one wife"—and he then says, "By these words doth Tyndale, after Luther, conclude for a plain matter, that priests must needs have wives, and that St Paul would there should in no wise be none other priests but married folk.—There was never none that had either the wit or the grace to perceive that great special commandment this 1500 year till now," &c.

In Jerome's Epistle to Oceanus, he says: Si quis et ante baptismum habuerit concubinam, et illa mortua baptizatus uxorem duxerit, utrum clericus fieri debeat, an non? Respondebis, posse fieri; quia concubinam habuerit, non uxorem. Conjugales ergo tabulæ et jura dotalia, non coitus ab apostolo condemnatur. He had said before, after quoting 1 Tim. iii. 2. and Titus i.: In utraque epistola, sive episcopi, sive presbyteri (quanquam apud veteres idem episcopi et presbyteri fuerint, quia illud nomen dignitatis est, hoc ætatis), jubentur monogami in clerum eligi.—Hieron. Op. Basil. 1537. Tom. iv. p. 320 and 321.]

[2 More has said, "Paul saith no more, but that the bishop must be the husband of one wife. Which words Tyndale may tell us be verified, if he be the husband of ten wives: for the husband of ten wives were the husband of one, as the father of ten children is the father of one." Works, p. 229.]

I affirm unto M. More the contrary. And I say first with Paul, that "the kingdom of God is not meat and drink," and by the same reason neither husband or wife, but the keeping of the commandments, and to love every man his neighbour as himself. And therefore as meat and drink were ordained for man's necessity, and as a man may eat and drink at all needs in all degrees, so far as it letteth him not to keep the commandments and to love his neighbour as himself; even so was the wife created for the man's necessity, and therefore may a man use her at all his need in all degrees, as far as she letteth him not to keep God's law: which is nothing else by Paul's learning, than that a man love his neighbour as himself. Now I desire a reason of Master More's doctrine: what doth my second wife, or my third, hinder me to love my neighbour as myself, and to do him service, against I come to be priest? What let is your second wife to you, to serve our holy father the pope, more than your first would have been? And in like manner, if my first wife die when I am a priest, why may I not love my neighbour, and do him as good service with the second as with the first? And again, if I be made priest, having no wife, and after burn, and therefore marry; why may I not love my neighbour, and serve him with that wife, as well as he that brought a wife with him?

have a whore, but not a wife. Rom. xiv.

More's doctrine is superstitious.

It was not for nought that Paul prophesied, that "some should depart from the faith, and attend unto deceivable spirits, and devilish doctrine; forbidding to marry and to eat meats, which God hath created to be received with thanks of them that know the truth:" to buy dispensations to use lawful meat and unlawful wives.

1 Tim. iv.

The pope forbiddeth marriage.

And I ask M. More, why he that hath the second wife, or hath had two wives, may not be a priest; or why, if a priest's first wife die, he may not marry the second. He will answer, 'Because the priest must represent the mysteries, or secret properties, and union of Christ, the only husband of his only wife, the church or congregation that believeth in him only.' That is, as I have in other places said, the scripture describeth us in matrimony the mysteries and secret benefits which God the Father hath hid in Christ, for all them that be chosen and ordained to believe and put their trusts in him to be saved. As when a man taketh a wife, he giveth her himself, his honour, his riches, and all that he hath, and maketh her of

Apparent godliness, why the priest may not have the second wife. W.T.

Christ's benefits toward us are figured by matrimony. W.T.

equal degree unto himself; if he be king and she before a beggar's daughter, yet she is not the less queen, and in honour above all other; if he be emperor, she is empress, and honoured of men as the emperor, and partaker of all: even so, if a man repent, and come and believe in Christ, to be saved from the damnation of the sin of which he repenteth, Christ is his own good immediately; Christ's death, pain, prayer, passion, fasting, and all his merits, are for that man's sins a full satisfaction, and a sacrifice of might and power to absolve him *a pœna et a culpa*. Christ's inheritance, his love and favour, that he hath with God his Father, are that man's by and by[1]; and the man, by that marriage, is pure as Christ, and clean without sin, and honourable, glorious, well-beloved, and in favour, through the grace of that marriage. And because that the priest must represent us this signification, is the cause why a priest may not have the second wife, say they: which popish reason hath deceived many wise; as who can be but deceived in some thing, if he receive all his doctrine by the authority of his elders?—except he have an occasion, as we have, to run to Moses and the prophets, and there hear and see with our own eyes, and believe no longer by the reason of our forefathers; when we see them so shamefully beguiled themselves, and to beguile us in a thousand things which the Turks see.

Now to our purpose: if this doctrine be true, then must every priest have a wife, or have had a wife: for he that never had a wife cannot represent us this. And again, he that hath an whore, or another man's wife, hath lost this property, and therefore ought to be put down.

And again, the second marriage then of no man is, or can be, a sacrament by that doctrine. And yet I will describe you the marriage of Christ, as well by his marriage that hath had nine wives, and hath now the tenth, as by his that hath now the first. 'Oh,' will they say, 'his wife was no virgin, or he, when they were married.' Sir, the signification standeth not in the virginity, but in the actual wedlock. We were no virgins, when we came to Christ; but common whores, believing in a thousand idols. And in the second marriage, or tenth and ye will, the man hath but one wife, and all his are hers; and his other wives be in a land where is no

We were idolaters when we came to Christ.

[1] That is, immediately.]

husband or wife. I say therefore with Paul, that this is a devilish doctrine, and hath a similitude of godliness with it, but the power is away. The mist of it blindeth the eyes of the simple, and beguileth them, that they cannot see a thousand abominations wrought under that cloak.

And therefore I say still, that the apostle's meaning was, that he should have a wife, if haply his age were not the greater; and that by one wife he excludeth them that had two, and them that were defamed with other save their own wives; and would have them to be such as were known of virtuous living, for to do reverence and honour unto the doctrine of Christ: as it appeareth by the widows, which he excludeth before sixty years for fear of unchastity, and admitteth yet none of that age, except she were well known, of chaste, honest, and godly behaviour, and that to honour God's word withal, than which the pope hath nothing more vile. And when M. More, to mock, bringeth forth the text of the widow, that "she must be the wife of one man:" I answer, for all his jesting, that Paul excludeth not her that had ten husbands one after another, but her that had two husbands at once. And when More laugheth at it, as though it had never been the guise, I would to God, for his mercy, that it were not the guise at this day; and then I am sure his wrath would not be so great as it is. Paul meaneth only that he would have no defamed woman chosen widow, for dishonouring the word of God and the congregation of Christ; and therefore excludeth common women, and such as were defamed besides their husbands, and haply the divorced thereto. And that I prove by the same doctrine of Paul, that the kingdom of God is no such business, but the keeping of God's commandments only, and to love one another. Now, look on the thing and on the office of the widow. It was but to wait on the sick and poor people, and to wash strangers' feet. Now the widows of ten husbands must have been found of the cost of the congregation, if they were destitute of friends, as all other poor were, though in time past they had been defamed persons.

St Paul's doctrine is that priests should have wives.

Widows.

More is a scoffer.

But under sixty would Paul let none minister, for fear of occasions of unchastity; and thereto none but such as were well known, of honest living and of good report. Now, inasmuch as the widow of ten husbands must be found of the common cost at her need, what uncleanness is in her by the

The office of the widows in the primitive church.

reason of her second husband, that she is not good enough to be a servant unto the poor people, to dress their meat, wash their clothes, to make their beds, and so forth, and to wash strangers' feet, that came out of one congregation unto another about business, and to do all manner service of love unto her poor brethren and sisters? To have had the second husband, is no shame among the heathen: it is no shame among the Christians: for when the husband is dead, the wife is free to marry to whom she will in the Lord, and by as good reason the husband; and, of right, who more free than the priest? And therefore they shame not our doctrine nor our congregation, nor dishonour God among the heathen or weak Christians. Now when we have a plain rule, that he which loveth his neighbour as himself keepeth all the laws of God, let him tell me for what cause of love toward his neighbour a widow of two lawful husbands may not do service unto the poor people. Why may not a widow of fifty do service unto the poor? Paul which knitteth no snares, nor leadeth us blind, nor teacheth us without a reason-giving of his doctrine, answereth, For fear of occasions of evil; lest she be tempted, or tempt other; and then, if she be taken in misdoing, the doctrine of Christ be evil spoken of thereto, and the weak offended.

Rom. xiii.

And when M. More mocketh with my reason, that I would have 'every priest to have a wife, because few men can live chaste;' I answer, that if he loved the honour of Christ and his neighbour, as he doth his own covetousness, he should find that a good argument. Paul maketh the same, and much more slenderly than I, after your sophistry. For he disputeth thus: Some young widows do dishonest the congregation of Christ, and his doctrine; therefore shall no young widow at all minister in the common service thereof; but shall all be married, and bear children, and serve their husbands. And it is a far less rebuke to the doctrine of Christ and his congregation, that a woman should do amiss, than the bishop or priest. I am not so mad to think that there could no priest at all live chaste. Neither am I so foolish to think that there be not as many women that could live chaste at fifty, as priests at twenty-four. And yet, though of a thousand widows of fifty years old nine hundred and ninety-nine could live chaste; Paul, because he knoweth not that one, will let none at all minister in the common service, among

Young widows were forbidden to minister in the common service.

occasions of unchastity. Christ's apostles considered all infirmities, and all that might hinder the doctrine of Christ, and therefore did their best to prevent all occasions. Wherefore, as fish is no better than flesh, nor flesh better than fish, in the kingdom of Christ; even so virginity, wedlock, and widowhead[1], are none better than other, to be saved by, in their own nature, or to please God withal; but with whatsoever I may best serve my brethren, that is ever best, according unto the time and fashion of the world. In persecution it is good for every man to live chaste, if he can, and namely for the preacher. In peace, when a man may live quietly, and abide in one place, a wife is a sure thing to cut off occasions.

Fish no better than flesh, nor flesh no better than fish, in the kingdom of Christ.

Then he would make it seem, that "priests' wives were the occasions of heresies in Almany." Nay, they fell first to heresies, and then took wives; as ye fell first to the pope's holy doctrine, and then took whores.

More. Tyndale.

More:—"The church bindeth no man to chastity[2]."

Tyndale:—Of a truth; for it giveth licence to whosoever will to keep whores, and permitteth to abuse men's wives, and suffereth sodomitry; and doth but only forbid matrimony.

And when he saith, "Chastity was almost received by general custom, before the law was made;" one lie: and, "Good fathers did but give their advice thereto;" another lie: and, "It was ratified and received with the consent of all Christendom;" the third lie.

Three lies at once. W. T.

They did well to choose a poet to be their defender. First, it was attempted in general council, and resisted by holy fathers, which yet themselves were never married; saying that men might not knit a snare for their weak brethren, against the doctrine of Christ and his apostles[3]. Neither could it be brought to pass, until the pope had got the emperor's sword out of his hand. The Greeks, which

[1 An old form of *widowhood*. The old editions here have *widowed*.]

[2 "The church, quod I, bindeth no man to chastity. That is truth, quod he, except a priest be a man. Ye mistake the matter, quod I, as I shall shew you after. When every man is at his liberty, not to be priest but at his pleasure, how can any man say that the church layeth a bond of chastity on any man's neck against his will?" More's Works, p. 232.]

[3 Such was the language held by Paphnutius in the first Nicene council: of whom Tyndale soon makes further mention.]

were the one half of the Christendom then, I suppose, would never admit it.

Now, godly love would never suffer them to consent that we should be bound unto that burden, which they themselves could not bear; as M. More in another place affirmeth that they did. And again, we have manifest stories that it was brought in with violence of sword, and that all the priests of Germany were compelled to put away their wives. And we find that wheresoever the pope reigneth, he came in with deceiving the king of the country, and then with his sword compelled the rest. The pope came but now late into Wales, to reign there over the bishops and priests[1], and that with the sword of the king of England.

Priests compelled to put away their wives.

And yet, though all the clergy of Christendom had granted it, all the church had not made it, nor yet the tenth part of the church. The lay people be as well of the church as the priests; neither can all the priests in the world, of right, make any law wherein their part lieth, without their consent. Now it pertaineth unto the common people, and most of all unto the weakest, that their priests be endued with all virtue and honesty. And the chastity of his wife, daughter, and servant, pertaineth unto every particular man; which we see by experience defiled daily by the unchaste chastity of the spiritualty.

Priests must be endued with virtue and honesty.

Wherefore if the parishes, or any one parish, after they had seen the experience, what inconveniences came of their chastity, would have no curate except he had a wife, to cut off occasions; as Paul, when he had seen that proof, would have no young widows minister; who, save a tyrant, should be against them?

General councils.

Moreover, the general councils of the spiritualty are of no other manner, since the pope was a god, than the general parliaments of the temporalty; where no man dare say his

[1 For proofs that the British churches in parts unsubdued by the Saxons did not acknowledge any subjection to the see of Rome, the reader may see Spelman's Concilia, &c., Orbis Britannici, pp. 109, 110, and p. 414, which seems to close their independence with the date of 940. See also Stillingfleet's Orig. Britannicæ. It is probable, however, that Tyndale would not consider the bishoprick of St David's as subject to papal law, till its bishop, Bernard, submitted himself and his see to that of Canterbury, about 353 years before Tyndale's birth. Heylyn's Help to English Hist. p. 65. Lond. 1773.]

mind freely and liberally, for fear of some one and of his flatterers. And look in what captivity the parliaments be under the private councils of kings, so are the general councils under the pope and his cardinals. And this is the manner of both: some one two or three wily foxes, that have all other in subjection, (as ye have seen in my lord cardinal,) imagine not what ought to be, but what they lust to have, and conceive in their own brains, and go with child, sometimes a year, two, three, four, five, six, or seven, and sometimes twenty and above, casting, canvassing, and compassing for the birth, against opportunity; opening the matter privily, under an oath, a little and a little unto certain secretaries whose part is therein, as they find men of activity and of courage, prepared to sell soul and body for promotion. And the matter in the mean time is turmoiled and tossed among themselves; and persuasions and subtle reasons are forged, to blind the right way and to beguile men's wits. And whom they fear to have adversaries, able to resist them, for such means are sought, to bring them in unto their party, or to convey them out of the way. And when opportunity is come, they call a council, or parliament, under a contrary pretence. And a mass of the Holy Ghost, whom they desire as far away as were possible, is sung; and a goodly sermon is made, to blear men's eyes withal. And then suddenly, other men unprovided, the matter is opened after the most subtle manner. And many are beguiled with subtle arguments and crafty persuasions. And they that hold hard against them are called aside, and reasoned with apart, and handled after a fashion, and partly enticed with fair promises, and partly feared with cruel threatenings: and so some are overcome with silver syllogisms; and other for fear of threatenings are driven unto silence. And if any be found at the last, that will not obey their falsehood and tyranny, they rail on him, and jest him out of countenance; and call him opinative, self-minded, and obstinate; and bear him in hand that the devil is in him, that he so cleaveth unto his own wit, though he speak no syllable but[2] God's word; and is asked whether he will be wiser than other men? And in the spiritualty they excommunicate him, and make an heretic of him. And this to be true, in the clergy's chastity, is as clear as the day by manifest chronicles: insomuch that the prelates of Rome were a brewing it above

The manner used both in general councils, and also in parliaments.

A practice used in all councils and parliaments.

The spirituality make heretics of them that resist their power and will.

[2] So D., the C. U. L. ed. has *than*.]

an hundred years, and I wot not how long longer, ere they could bring it to pass; and yet in vain, till they had got the emperor's sword, to prove that it was most expedient so to be.

Why priests may have no wives. W.T.

And for what intent? To bring all under the pope; and that the prelates of all lands might, as the old manner was, come and wait on the pope at Rome, where he prepared them whores enough; and that his sworn prelates in every land might the more conveniently wait in kings' courts, to minister the commonwealth unto the pope's pleasure and profit. For had the clergy kept their wives, they could never have come unto this where they now be, and to these pluralities, unions and totquots. For there is no lay-man, though he were never so evil disposed, that could, for his wife and children, have leisure to contrive such mischief, and to run from country to country to learn falsehood and subtilty, as our spiritualty do; which without fear of God and shame of man keep whores wheresoever they come. And thus ye see that the clergy's chastity pertaineth as much unto the temporalty as unto the spiritualty.

The chastity of the clergy pertaineth to the temporalty, as much as to the spiritualty.

And another is this, no power, among them that profess the truth, may bind where God looseth; save only where love and my neighbour's necessity requireth it of me. Neither can any power now bind them to come; but they may freely keep or break, as the thing is hurtful or expedient. Neither can there be any bond, where love and necessity requireth the contrary: so that this law, 'Love thy neighbour, to help him as thou wouldest be holp,' must interpret all man's laws: as, if I had sworn, young or unwisely, that I would live chaste, and all the world had bound me; if afterward I burnt, and could not overcome the passion, I ought to marry.

Vows.

For I must condition my vow, and shew a cause of it thereto. I may not vow for the chastity itself, as though it were sacrifice, to please God in itself; for that is the idolatry of heathen. I must therefore vow, to do my neighbour service (which in that case he may not require), or to give myself more quietly to prayer and study (which is not possible as long as I burn, and the mind will not be quiet), or that I may the better keep the laws of God, which if I burn I stand through my chastity in more jeopardy to break, and to hurt my neighbour, and to shame the doctrine of Christ. And in like manner, if I had forsworn flesh, and all the world had

bound me; yet if necessity required it of me, to save my life or my health, I ought to break it. And again, though I had sworn chastity, and the commonwealth or the necessity of another required the contrary, I must break it. But on the one side, of all that ever burnt in the pope's chastity, he never gave priest licence to take wife, but to keep whores only: and on the other side, all that vow any vow do it for the thing itself; as though it were, as I said, service or sacrifice to God, that had delight in the deed, as young children have in apples; and that for that deed they shall have an higher room in heaven than their neighbours, which is the idolatry of the heathen: when he ought to bestow his vow upon his neighbour, to bring him to heaven, and not to envy him and to seek thereby an higher room, not caring whether his neighbour come thither or no. And finally, to burn, and not to use the natural remedy that God hath made, is but to tempt God, as in all other things. But and if God have brought thee into a strait, and have thereto taken the natural remedy from thee; then to resist and cry unto God for help, and to suffer, is a sign that thou lovest God's laws: and to love God's law is to be sure that thou art God's child, elect to mercy; for in all his children only he writeth that token.

No oath is to be kept that is against charity or necessity.

And then he saith, "Every man hath his choice, whether he will be priest or no." But what nets and snares doth antichrist lay for them!

The pope's snares.

First his false doctrine; wherewith the elders beguiled compel their children, and sacrifice them to burn in the pope's chastity, with no other mind than those old idolaters sacrificed their children unto the false god Moloch; so that they think by the merits of their children's burning, after the pope's false doctrine, to please God and to get heaven, clean ignorant of the testament made in Christ's blood. 1.

Then what a multitude are blinded, and drawn into the net, with the bait of promotion, honour, dignity, pleasures, freedom, and liberty to sin, and to do all mischief unpunished; things which all evil, that fear not God, do desire! 2.

And what a number brought up idly, unto twenty and above, then put their heads in his halter, because they have no other craft to get their livings; and not because they can live chaste! 3.

Also some live chaste at twenty-four, which same burn at 4.

thirty. And that to be true, daily experience teacheth, and good natural causes there be.

5. And then look on the apostle's learning and ordinance. When one or two young widows had broken their chastity, he would never after let any more be chosen of the same age. How cometh it then that the pope, for so many hundred thousands that miscarry, will neither break the ordinance, or mitigate it, or let any go back; but, if any burn, sendeth them unto the shame of Christ's doctrine, and offending and hurt of his church, and never unto the lawful remedy of marriage?

Tyndale doth here plainly prove More an heretic.

And when M. More calleth it "heresy, to think that the married were as pleasant to God as the unmarried," he is surely an heretic that thinketh the contrary. Christ's kingdom is neither meat nor drink, nor husband nor wife, nor widow nor virgin; but the keeping of the commandments and serving of a man's neighbour lovingly, by the doctrine of St Paul. Where not to eat helpeth me to keep the commandments better than to eat, there it is better not to eat than to eat. And where to eat helpeth me to keep the commandments, and to do my duty unto my neighbour, there it is better to eat than not to eat. And in like case, where to be without a wife helpeth more to keep the commandments, and to serve a man's neighbour, there it is better to be unmarried than married; and where a wife helpeth to keep the commandments better than to be without, there it is better to have a wife than to be without. That heart only which is ready to do, or let undone, all things for his neighbour's sake, is a pleasant thing in the sight of God.

That is ever best that moveth man to the keeping of God's commandments.

☞

Devilish doctrine.

And when he will have "the priests to live chaste, for reverence of the sacraments;" it is devilish doctrine, having the similitude of godliness, but the pith and marrow is away. If he mean water, oil, salt, and such like, then is the wife with her body and all her uses in the laws of God incomparably purer and holier. If he mean the sacrament of Christ's body, I answer, that the hands defile not the man, nor aught that goeth through the hands, be they never so unwashed, by the testimony of Christ; and much less can they then defile Christ.

Matt. xv.

Christ's natural body is not in the sacrament.

Moreover, the priest toucheth not Christ's natural body with his hands, by your own doctrine; nor seeth it with his eyes, nor breaketh it with his fingers, nor eateth it with his

mouth, nor chammeth it with his teeth, nor drinketh his blood with his lips; for Christ is impassible. But he that repenteth toward the law of God, and at the sight of the sacrament, or of the breaking, feeling, eating, chamming, or drinking, calleth to remembrance the death of Christ, his body-breaking and blood-shedding for our sins, and all his passion; the same eateth our Saviour's body and drinketh his blood through faith only, and receiveth forgiveness of all his sins thereby, and other not. And all that have not this doctrine of the sacrament come thereto in vain. And therefore there is no more cause that he which saith the mass should live chaste, than he that heareth it; or he that ministereth the sacrament, than he that receiveth it. It is to me great marvel, that unlawful whoredom, covetousness, and extortion cannot defile their hands, as well as lawful matrimony. Cursed therefore be their devilish doctrine, with false appearing godliness, the fruit and power away, out of the hearts of all christian men.

The sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, how it must be received. W.T.

And when he bringeth the ensample of the heathen, I praise him. For the heathen, because they could not understand God spiritually, to serve him in the spirit, to believe in him, and to love his laws, therefore they turned his glory unto an image, and served him after their own imagination with bodily service, as the whole kingdom of the pope doth, having less power to serve him in spirit than the Turks. For when the heathen made an image of the aches or fevers, and sacrificed thereto, they knew that the image was not the fever; but under the similitude of the image they worshipped the power of God, which plagued them with the fevers, with bodily service, as the pope doth above all the idolaters that ever were in the world: as when we paint St Michael weighing the souls, and stick up a candle to flatter him, and to make him favourable unto us, and regard not the testament of Christ nor the laws of God, because we have no power to believe nor to love the truth. And even so, to refer virginity unto the person of God, to please him therewith, is false sacrifice and heathenish idolatry. For the only service of God is to believe in Christ, and to love the law. Wherefore thou must refer thy wedlock, thy virginity, and all thy other deeds, unto the keeping of the law, and serving thy neighbour only. And then, when thou lookest with a loving heart on

St Michael weigheth the souls. W.T.

The true service of God, what it is.

the law, that saith, 'Break not wedlock, keep no whore,' and so forth, and findest thy body weak, and thine office such that thou must have conversation with men's wives, daughters and servants, then it is better to have a wife than to be without. And again, if thou see service to be done that thou canst not so well do with a wife as without, then if thou have power to be without, it is best so to be, and in such like: and else the one is as good as the other, and no difference; and to take a wife for pleasure is as good as to abstain for displeasure.

And when M. More seeth "no other cause, why it is not best that our spiritualty were all gelded, than for loss of merit in resisting;" besides that that imagination is plain idolatry, I hold M. More beguiled, if all we read of gelded men be true, and the experience we see in other beasts. For then the gelded lust in their flesh as much as the ungelded: which if it be true, then the gelded, in that he taketh such great pain in gelding, not to minish his lusts, but, if lusts overcome him, yet that he have not wherewith to hurt his neighbour, deserveth more than the ungelded. And then it were best that we did eat and drink, and make our flesh strong, that we burned, to deserve in resisting; as some of your holy saints have laid virgins in their beds, to kindle their courage, that they might after quench their heat in cold water, to deserve the merit of holy martyrs.

And when he saith, "The priests of the old law abstained from their wives, when they served in the temple:" many things were forbidden them, to keep them in bond and servile fear, and for other purposes. And yet I trow he findeth it not in the text, that they were forbidden their wives. And when he imagineth so, because Zacharias, when his course was out, gat him home to his house; I think it was better for him to go to his house, than to send for his house to him: he was also old, and his wife too. But and if they were forbidden, it was but for a time, to give them to prayer; as we might do
Lev. x. right well, and as well as they. But I read, that they were forbidden to drink wine and strong drink when they ministered; of which ours pour in without measure.

M. More:—"Christ lived chaste, and exhorted unto chastity."

Tyndale:—We be not all of Christ's complexion; neither exhorteth he to other chastity than wedlock, save at a time

to serve our neighbours. Now the pope's chastity is not to serve a man's neighbour, but to run to riot, and to carry away with him the living of the poor and of the true preacher, even the tithes of five or six parishes, and to go, and either dwell by a stews, or to carry a stews with him, or to corrupt other men's wives.

Paphnutius, a man that never proved marriage, is praised in the stories for resisting such doctrine with God's word in a general council, before the pope was a god[1]. And now M. More, a man that hath proved it twice, is magnified for defending it with sophistry. And again meseemeth that it is a great oversight of M. More, to think that Christ, though he were never married, would not more accept the service of a married man that would more say truth for him than they that abhor wedlock; inasmuch as the spiritualty accept his humble service, and reward his merits with so high honour, because he can better feign for them than any of their unchaste (I would say own chaste) people, though he be bigamus[2], and past the grace of his neck-verse[3].

Paphnutius.

More had two wives, and therefore was *bigamus*.

And finally, if M. More look so much on the pleasure that is in marriage, why setteth he not his eyes on the thanksgiving for that pleasure and on the patience of other displeasures?

The Fourteenth Chapter.

More:—"Wicliffe was the occasion of the utter subversion of the realm of Boheme, both in faith and good living, and of the loss of many a thousand lives."

[1 It was at the first general council, held under Constantine at Nicæa, in 325, that Paphnutius successfully resisted an endeavour to procure the passing of a canon to compel married priests, &c. to leave their wives. The story is told in Sozomen, Lib. I. cap. XXIII.]

[2 More had been twice married, and his second wife was a widow. By the papal law he would be styled *bigamus*, notwithstanding his first wife's having died previous to his second marriage, and would be held to have so desecrated himself that he could not be admitted into holy orders. 'De bigamis presbyteris,' says Celestine III., 'et viduarum maritis idem sancimus omnino, ut nec viventibus uxoribus nec defunctis ad divinorum debeant celebrationem admitti: maxime cum a doctrina sit apostoli et institutionibus ecclesiæ alienum.'—Decretal. Gregor. IX. Lib. I. Titul. XXI. Corp. Juris Canon. Lugduni, 1622.]

[3 See Vol. I. p. 180. n. 1.]

The pope a cruel tyrant.

Tyndale:—The rules of their faith are Christ's promises; and the rule of their living, God's law. And as for loss of lives, it is truth that the pope slew, I think, an hundred thousand of them, because of their faith, and that they would no longer serve him: as he slew in England many a thousand, and slew the true king and set up a false, unto the effusion of all the noble blood and murdering up of the commonalty, because he should be his defender.

More:—"The constitution of the bishops is not that the scripture shall not be in English, but that no man may translate it by his own authority, or read it, until they had approved it[1]."

The spirituality would not have the scripture in English.

Tyndale:—If no translation shall be had, until they give licence or till they approve it, it shall never be had. And so it is all one in effect, to say there shall be none at all in English, and to say, till we admit it; seeing they be so malicious that they will none admit, but feign all the cavillations they can, to prove it were not expedient: so that if it be not had spite of their hearts, it shall never be had. And thereto, they have done their best to have had it enacted by parliament, that it should not be in English.

The Fifteenth Chapter.

Hunne.

He jesteth out Hunne's death[2] with his poetry, wherewith he built Utopia. "Many great lords came to Baynard's castle," (but all nameless) "to examine the cause:" as the credible prelates, so well learned, so holy, and so indifferent, which examined Bilney and Arthur, be also all nameless.

Horsey.

More:—"Horsey took his pardon, because it is not good to refuse God's pardon and the king's[3]."

[1 See Vol. I. p. 132.]

[2 The depositions of the witnesses and other documents relating to the death of Richard Hunne, a London tradesman, who was found dead in a chamber within the towers of the old cathedral of St Paul's, having been imprisoned there under a charge of heresy by bishop Fitzjames, may be seen in Foxe, Acts and Mon. Vol. IV. p. 183, &c. Lond. ed. 1837. The clergy attributed his death to suicide; but the coroner's jury returned for their verdict that he had been murdered by Dr Horsey, the bishop's chancellor, with the aid of his servants.]

[3 At the intercession of Fitzjames, Henry VIII. granted Horsey his pardon, but recorded his conviction in a mandate requiring him to indemnify the heirs of Hunne for the expenses they had incurred in the course of the proceedings. Foxe, p. 187.]

Tyndale:—God's pardon can no man have, except he knowledge himself a sinner. And even so he that receiveth the king's yieldeth himself guilty. And moreover it is not possible that he which putteth his trust in God, should for fear of the twelve men or of his judges receive pardon for that he never was faulty, unto the dishonouring of our Saviour Jesus; but would have denied it rather unto the death. And thereto, if the matter were so clear as ye jest it out[4], then I am sure the king's grace's both courtesy and wisdom would have charged the judges to have examined the evidence laid against him diligently; and so to have quit him with more honesty than to give him pardon of that he never trespassed in, and to have rid the spiritualty out of hate and all suspicion.

If we be not guilty, we need no pardon.

More would excuse the murder of Hunne.

Then saith he, "Hunne was sore suspect of heresy, and convict." And after he saith, "Hunne was an heretic indeed, and in peril so to be proved." And then, how was he convict? I heard say, that he was first convict when he was dead; and then they did wrong to burn him, till they had spoken with him, to wete whether he would abjure or no[5].

More:—"The bishop of London was wise, virtuous, and cunning[6]."

[4 More has indeed endeavoured to turn into ridicule all the evidence offered for the discovery of Hunne's murderers; interlarding his account of the investigation with frequent mention of the laughter of their lordships at the absurdity of the witnesses, as set forth by himself.]

[5 More says, "Myself was present in Paul's when the bishop, in the presence of the mayor and the aldermen of the city, *condemned* him for an heretic after his death. And then were there read openly the depositions, by which it was well proved that he was *convict* as well of divers other heresies, as of misbelief toward the holy sacrament of the altar. And thereupon was the judgment given, that his body should be burned; and so was it. Now this is, quod I, to me a full proof: for I assure you the bishop was a very wise man, a virtuous, and a cunning." After this More tells his friend that, 'six or seven years after,' the examination of a person, charged with intending a robbery, led him to discover that certain, whom he calls heretics, were wont to meet and read in a chamber at midnight, and that Richard Hunne had been one of them; and he then goes on to tell how he tried to ensnare some of the persons thus wont to meet.—Dial. Works, pp. 239-40.]

[6 Cunning, knowing, well instructed.]

Doctor Colet.

Tyndale:—For all those three, yet he would have made the old dean Colet of Paul's an heretic, for translating the Paternoster in English, had not the bishop of Canterbury holp the dean[1].

The Sixteenth Chapter.

Old translation.

The messenger[2] asketh him, "If there be an old lawful translation before Wicliffe's, how happeneth it that it is in so few men's hands, seeing so many desire it?" He answereth, "The printer dare not print it, and then hang on a doubtful trial, whether it were translated since or before; for if it were translated since, it must be first approved."

More was a subtle poet.

What may not M. More say, by authority of his poetry? 'There is a lawful translation that no man knoweth;' which is as much as no lawful translation. Why might not the bishops shew which were that lawful translation, and let it be printed? Nay, if that might have been obtained of them with large money, it had been printed, ye may be sure, long ere this. But, sir, answer me hereunto: how happeneth that ye defenders translate not one yourselves, to cease the murmur of the people, and put to your own glosses, to prevent heretics?

The having of the scripture in English is utterly against the minds of the popish clergy.

Ye would, no doubt, have done it long since, if ye could have made your glosses agree with the text in every place. And what can you say to this, how that, besides they have done their best to disannul all translating by parliament, they have disputed before the king's grace, that it is perilous and not meet, and so concluded that it shall not be, under a pretence of deferring it of certain years: where M. More was their special orator, to feign lies for their purpose[3].

More:—"Nothing discourageth the clergy so much, as that they of the worst sort most calleth after it."

Tyndale:—It might well be, Pharisees full of holiness long not after it; but publicans, that hunger after mercy, might sore desire it. Howbeit, it is in very deed a suspect thing, and a great sign of an heretic, to require it.

Then he juggleth with allegories. Sir, Moses delivered

[1 An account of dean Colet, the founder of St Paul's school, may be seen in Foxe, Vol. iv. p. 246. See also his life by Erasmus.]

[2 The interlocutor in More's Dialogue was supposed to come to him with a message of inquiry from a friend.]

[3 Here Tyndale again refers to the proceeding and document noticed in Vol. i. pp. 34-5.]

them all that he had received of God, and that in the mother tongue; in which all that had the heart thereto studied, and not the priests only, as thou mayest see in the scripture. And the apostles kept nothing behind; as Paul testified (Acts xx.), how he had shewed them all the counsel of God, and had kept nought back. Should the lay people less hearken unto the expositions of the prelates in doubtful places, if the text were in their hands when they preached?

The scripture was first delivered to the people in their vulgar tongue.

Acts xx.

More:—"The Jews gave great reverence unto the bible, and we sit on it[4]."

Tyndale:—The pope putteth it under his feet, and treadeth on it; in token that he is lord over it, that it should serve him, and he not it.

More:—"God hath ordained the ordinaries for chief physicians."

Tyndale:—They be lawyers ordained of the pope, and can no more skill of the scripture than they that never saw it; yea, and have professed a contrary doctrine. They be right hangmen, to murder whosoever desireth for that doctrine, that God hath given to be the ordinary[5] of our faith and living.

The ordinaries are hangmen, to such as desire the knowledge of the scripture.

And when he maketh so great "difficulty and hardness in Paul's epistles;" I say, it is impossible to understand either Peter or Paul, or aught at all in the scripture, for him that denieth the justifying of faith in Christ's blood. And again, it is impossible to understand in the scripture more than a Turk, for whosoever hath not the law of God written in his heart, to fulfil it: of which point, and of true faith too, I fear me that you are void and empty, with all your spiritualty, whose defender ye have taken upon you to be, for to mock out the truth for lucre and vantage.

None can understand the scripture, except he knew Christ to be his justification.

[4 "I have heard very worshipful folk say, that a man could not hire a few to sit down upon his bible of the old testament.—Whereas we take little regard to sit down on our bible, with the old testament and the new too."—Dial. Works, p. 246.]

[5 Ordinary, or ruler.]

AN ANSWER TO M. MORE'S FOURTH BOOK.

More :—"Christ's church hath the true doctrine already, and the selfsame that St Paul would not give an angel audience unto the contrary."

Tyndale :—But the pope's church will not hear that doctrine.

More :—"Confirmed with such a multitude of miracles, and so much blood of martyrs, and common consent of all Christendom."

Ear-confession and pardons were never confirmed by miracle.

Tyndale :—Who shewed a miracle to confirm his preaching of ear-confession and pardons, with like pedlary? or who shed his blood for them? I can shew you many thousands that ye have slain for preaching the contrary. And again, Græcia, the one half of Christendom, consenteth not unto them; which Greeks, if such things had come from the apostles, should have had them ere ye.

More :—"The spiritualty be not so tender-eared, but that they may hear their sins rebuked[1]."

The popish spiritualty are tyrants and persecutors.

Tyndale :—They consent not unto the way of truth, but sin of malice and of profession. And therefore, as they have no power to repent, even so can they not but persecute both him that rebuketh them, and his doctrine too, after the ensamples of the Pharisees, and all tyrants that be gone[2] before; namely if the preacher touch any ground whereby they should be reformed, or by what means they maintain their mischief.

The Second Chapter.

More :—"A friar's living, that hath married a nun, maketh it easy to know that his doctrine is not good[3]."

Tyndale :—The profession of either other is plain idolatry, and deceiving of a man's soul, and robbing him of his

[1 "Not any respect unto his [Luther's] railing against the clergy is, as some would have it seem, the cause of his condemnation and suppression of his books. For the good men of the clergy be not so sore grieved with them that touch the faults of the bad, nor the bad themselves be not so tender-eared, that for the only talking of their faults they would banish the books that were good in other things beside."—More's Works, p. 248.]

[2 So C. U. L. ed., D. has *begun*.]

[3 Works, p. 249. This is one of More's continually recurring sarcasms against Luther's marriage.]

good; and taken upon them ignorantly thereto: wherefore, when they be come unto the knowledge of the truth, they ought no longer therein to abide. But the pope's forbidding matrimony, and to eat of meats created of God for man's use, which is devilish doctrine by Paul's prophecy; his giving licence to hold whores; his continual occupying of princes in shedding of christian blood; his robbing of the poor throughout Christendom of all that was given to maintain them; his setting up in Rome a stews, not of women only, but of the male kind against nature, and a thousand abominations too gross for a Turk, are tokens good enough that he is the right antichrist, and his doctrine sprung of the devil.

Pope forbiddeth matrimony and the eating of meats.

The wicked and monstrous doings of the pope.

More:—"In penance, Martin[4] saith, there needeth no contrition nor satisfaction."

Tyndale:—Call it repentance, and then it is contrition of itself. And as for mends-making with worldly things, that do to thy brother whom thou hast offended; and unto God offer the repentance of thine heart, and the satisfaction of Christ's blood.

More:—"Tyndale saith, that the confessor uttereth the confessions of them that be rich. But yet we see that both rich and poor keep whores openly without paying penny."

Tyndale:—If they be very rich, they be suffered, because they may be good defenders of the spiritualty; and if they be very poor, because they have no money to pay; or else they fine[5] with one or other, secretly.

More:—"Upon that lie Tyndale buildeth the destruction of the sacrament of penance."

Tyndale:—Sacrament is a sign, signifying what I should do, or believe, or both: as baptism is the sign of repentance, signifying that I must repent of evil, and believe to be saved therefrom by the blood of Christ. Now, sir, in your penance describe us which is the sign and the outward sacrament, and what is the thing that I must do or believe; and then we will ensearch whether it may be a sacrament or no.

All sacraments teach us what to do, or what to believe.

More:—"Tyndale saith that confession is the worst invention that ever was."

[4 That is, Martin Luther.]

[5 Compound the matter by some equivalent to a pecuniary payment.]

Ear-confession destroyeth the benefit of Christ's blood.

Tyndale:—As ye fashion it, mean I, and of that filthy, Priapish confession, which ye spew in the ear; wherewith ye exclude the forgiveness that is in Christ's blood, for all that repent and believe therein, and make the people believe that their sins be never forgiven until they be shriven unto the priest; and then for no other cause save that they have there told them, and for the holy deeds to come, which the confessor hath enjoined them, more profitable oft-times for himself than any man else.

More:—"Never man had grace to spy that before Tyndale."

Tyndale:—Yes, very many; for many nations never received it. And the Greeks, when they had proved it, and saw the bawdery that followed of it, put it down again[1]. For which cause, and to know all secrets, and to lead the consciences captive, the pope falsely maintaineth it.

More:—"What fruit would then come of penance?"

Repentance.

Tyndale:—Of your juggling term penance, I cannot affirm. But of repentance would come this fruit, that no man that had it should sin willingly; but every man should continually fight against his flesh.

More:—"He teacheth that the sacrament hath no virtue at all, but the[2] faith only."

Sacrament.

Tyndale:—The faith of a repenting soul in Christ's blood doth justify only. And the sacrament standeth in as good stead as a lively preacher. And as the preacher justifieth me not, but my faith in the doctrine; even so the sign justifieth not, but the faith in the promise, which the sacrament signifieth and preacheth. And to preach is all the virtue of the sacrament; and where the sacraments preach not, there they have no virtue at all. And, sir, we teach not as ye do, to believe in the sacrament or in holy church, but to believe the sacrament and holy church.

Faith.

More:—"He teacheth that faith sufficeth unto salvation without good works."

Tyndale:—The scripture saith, that as soon as a man repenteth of evil, and believeth in Christ's blood, he obtaineth mercy immediately; because he should love God, and of that

[1 See Sozomen, Lib. VII. cap. 16, and Socrates, Lib. V. cap. 19. The circumstances occurred about A. D. 385.]

[2 So C. U. L. ed. and so More's text; but D. has *by* instead of *the*.]

love do good works; and that he tarrieth not in sin still, till he have done good works, and then is first forgiven for his works' sake, as the pope beareth his in hand, excluding the virtue of Christ's blood. For a man must be first reconciled unto God by Christ, and in God's favour, ere his works can be good and pleasant in the sight of God. But we say not, as some damnably lie on us, that we should do evil to be justified by faith; as thou mayest see, Rom. iii., how they said of the apostles for like preaching.

The papists are slanderers of the gospel.

Rom. iii.

More:—"He calleth it sacrilege, to please God with good works."

Works.

Tyndale:—To refer the work unto the person of God, to buy out thy sin therewith, is to make an idol of God, or a creature. But if thou refer thy work unto thy neighbour's profit, or taming of thine own flesh, then thou pleasest God therewith.

More:—"Item, that a man can do no good work."

Tyndale:—It is false. But he saith a man can do no good work, till he believe that his sins be forgiven him in Christ, and till he love God's law, and have obtained grace to work with. And then saith he that we cannot do our works so perfectly, by the reason of our corrupt flesh, but that there is some imperfectness therein, as in the works of them that be not their crafts-master; which is yet not reckoned, because they do their good wills, and be scholars, and go to school to learn to do better.

We can do no good work, except we believe that our sins are forgiven in Christ.

More:—"Item, that the good and righteous man sinneth alway in doing well."

Sin.

Tyndale:—In all his works there lacketh somewhat, and is a fault; until he do them with as great love unto his neighbour as Christ did for him, and as long as there is more resistance in his flesh than was in Christ's, or less hope in God; and then no longer.

More:—"Item, that no sin damneth a man save unbelief[3]."

Unbelief.

Tyndale:—Whatsoever a man hath done, if he repent and believe in Christ, it is forgiven him. And so it fol-

[3 More's words are, "Item that no sin can damn a christian man but only lack of belief. For he" [meaning Tyndale] "saith that our faith suppeth up all our sins, how great soever they be."—Works, Dial. p. 250.]

loweth, that no sin damneth, save there where there is no belief.

Free-will.

More:—"Item, that we have no free-will to do aught therewith, though the grace of God be joined thereto; and that God doth all in us both good and bad, and we do but suffer, as wax doth of the workman."

Tyndale:—First, where he affirmeth that we say, our will is not free to do good, and to help to compel the members, when God hath given us grace to love his laws, is false. But we say that we have no free-will to captivate our wits and understanding, for to believe the pope in whatsoever he saith without reason given; when we find in the scripture contrary testimony, and see in him so great falsehood and deeds so abominable, and thereto all the signs by which the scripture teacheth us to know antichrist.

We have no free-will to prevent grace and prepare ourselves. W.T.

And we affirm that we have no free-will to prevent God and his grace, and before grace prepare ourselves thereto; neither can we consent unto God before grace be come. For until God hath prevented us, and poured the Spirit of his grace into our souls, to love his laws, and hath graven them in our hearts by the outward ministration of his true preacher and inward working of his Spirit, or by inspiration only, we know not God as he is to be known, nor feel the goodness or any sweetness in his law. How then can we consent thereto?

Matt. xii. John v.

Saith not the text, that we can do no good while we be evil; and they which seek glory, and to climb in honour above their brethren, cannot believe the truth; and that whores,

1 Cor. vi.

thieves, murderers, extortioners, and such like, have no part in the kingdom of God and Christ, nor any feeling thereof?

The hearing of God's word causeth repentance.

And who shall take those diseases from them? God only, through his mercy; for they cannot put off that complexion of themselves, until they be taught to believe and to feel that it is damnable, and to consent unto the contrary living.

And unto the second part I answer, that in respect of God we do but suffer only, and receive power to do all our deeds, whether we do good or bad: as Christ answered

John xix.

Pilate, that he could "have no power against him except it were given him from above;" and no more could Judas neither. But in respect of the thing, wherein or wherewith we work, and shed out again the power that we have received,

we work actually: as the axe doth nothing in respect of the hand that heweth, save receive; but in respect of the tree that is cut, it worketh actually, and poureth out again the power that it hath received.

There can be no repentance in us, but God doth first work in us by his grace.

More:—"Item, that God is author of good and evil, as well of the evil will of Judas in betraying Christ, as of the good will of Christ in suffering his passion."

Tyndale:—The power wherewith we do good and evil, is of God; and the will is of God: as the power which the murderer abuseth, and wherewith he killeth a man unrighteously, is of God; and the will wherewith he willeth it. But the wickedness of his will, and crookedness or frowardness wherewith he slayeth unrighteously, to avenge himself, and to satisfy his own lusts, and the cause why he knoweth not the law of God and consenteth not to it, (which law should have informed his will, and corrected the crookedness thereof, and have taught him to use his will and his power right,) is his blindness' fault only, and not God's: which blindness the devil hath poisoned him with.

All power that we have to good or evil is of God, but the crooked and naughty usage of the same is of our own cankered and corrupt nature.

More:—"Item, matrimony is no sacrament."

Tyndale:—Matrimony is a similitude of the kingdom of heaven, as are many things more: like as it appeareth by Christ in the gospel. But who instituted it to be a sacrament? Or who, at his marriage, was taught the signification of it? Who was ever bound to receive it in the name of a sacrament? I would to Christ's blood that ye would make a sacrament of it unto all men and women that be married, and unto all other; and would at every marriage teach the people to know the benefit of Christ through the similitude of matrimony. And I affirm, that in the pope's church, there is no sacrament: for where no signification is, there is no sacrament. A sign is no sign unto him that understandeth nought thereby; as a speech is no speech unto him that understandeth it not. I would to Christ's passion that ye would let them be sacraments, which Christ institute and ordained for sacraments. And then, if ye make of your own brains five hundred thereto, I would not be so greatly grieved; though I would not give my consent unto so great a multitude, partly for the bondage, and specially lest we should in time to come, the significations of them lost, fall into idolatry again, and make holy works of them, after the example

Matrimony.

Matrimony can be no sacrament, except a doctrine be added thereunto, that the people may know the benefit of Christ that we have by matrimony.

of the blindness wherein we be now; but I would have the word ever lively preached out of the plain text.

Orders. *More*:—"Item, that all holy orders be but men's invention."

Tyndale:—The office of an apostle, bishop, priest, deacon, and widow, are of God. But as concerning the shaving, the oiling, and diversity of raiment, and many degrees since added thereto, prove that they be not[1] men's traditions. But and ye will make sacraments of the oiling, shaving, shearing, and garments, put their significations unto them, and let the king's grace compel them to keep them, and I admit them for sacraments; and until that time I hold them for the false signs of hypocrites.

No sacrament is without signification.

Consecrate. *More*:—"Item, that every man and woman is a priest, and may consecrate the body of Christ."

Tyndale:—In bodily service, if the officer appointed be away, every other person not only may, but also is bound to help, at need, even so much as his neighbour's dog. How much more then ought men to assist one onother in the health of their souls at all times of need! If the man be away, the woman may, and is bound to baptize, in time of need, by the law of love; which office pertaineth unto the priest only. If she be lady over the greatest ordained by God, that she may baptize, why should she not have power also over the less, to minister the ceremonies which the pope hath added to, as his oil, his salt, his spittle, his candle and chrisom-cloth? And why might she not pray all the prayers, except that idol the pope be greater than the very God? If women had brought a child to church, and, while the priest and other men tarried, the child were in jeopardy; might they not baptize him in the font, if there were no other water by? And if other water were by, yet if that help better one mite, love requireth to baptize him therein. And then why might not women touch all their other oil? If a woman, learned in Christ, were driven unto an isle where Christ was never preached, might she not there preach and teach to minister the sacraments, and make officers? The case is possible; shew then what should let, that she might not. "Love thy neighbour as thyself," doth compel. Nay, she may not consecrate. Why? If the pope loved us as

Women that are virtuous and discreet may, in cases of necessity, minister the sacraments as well as the priest.

[1] So C. U. L. ed., D. has *but* instead of *not*.]

well as Christ, he would find no fault therewith, though a woman at need ministered that sacrament, if it be so necessary as ye make it. In bodily wealth, he that would have me one ace less than himself, loveth me not as well as himself: how much more ought we to love one another in things pertaining unto the soul!

Sacrifice.

More:—"Item, that the host is no sacrifice."

Tyndale:—Christ is no more killed. It is therefore the sacrament, sign, and memorial of that sacrifice wherewith Christ offered his body for our sins, and commanded, saying, "This do in the remembrance of me." We be not holp with any visible deed, that the priest there doth, save in that it putteth us in remembrance of Christ's death and passion for our sins. As the garments and strange holy gestures help us not, but in that they put us in remembrance of things that Christ suffered for us in his passion: even so the shewing, breaking, and eating of the host, the shewing and drinking of the cup of Christ's blood, and the words, and the consecration, help us not a pin, nor are God's service; save only in that they stir up our repenting faith, to call to mind the death and passion of Christ for our sins. And therefore to call it a sacrifice is but abused speech: as when we call one, that is new come home, to breakfast, and set a capon before him, and say, 'This is your welcome home;' meaning yet by that speech that it is but a sign of the love of mine heart, which rejoiceth and is glad that he is come home safe and sound. And even so is this but the memorial of the very sacrifice of Christ, once done for all. And if ye would no otherwise mean, ye shall have my good will to call it so still; or if ye can shew me a reason of some other meaning. And therefore I would that it had been called (as it indeed is, and as it was commanded to be) Christ's memorial, though that I doubt not but that it was called mass of this Hebrew word Misach, which signifieth a pension-giving, because that at every mass men gave every man a portion according unto his power, unto the sustentation of the poor[2]:

An example.

The supper of the Lord is given us to be a memorial of his death once offered for all.

Christ's memorial mass.

[2 So Bishop Pilkington observes: 'They glory much that the name of their mass is *missah* in Hebrew, and should be written, Deut. xvi. (10.); and thereof should *missa* come in Latin, or else the Hebrew name to remain still.' Confutation, &c., Bishop Pilkington's Works, Park. Soc. p. 505. The word in the text cited is מַסַּת, the construct

which offering yet remaineth; but to a false use and profit of them that have too much, as all other things are perverted.

Finally, it is the same thing that it was when Christ institute it at his last supper. If it were then the very sacrificing of Christ's body, and had that same virtue and power with it that his very passion after wrought; why was he sacrificed so cruelly on the morrow, and not held excused therewith, seeing he was there verily sacrificed?

Bread.

More:—"Item, that there remaineth bread and wine in the sacrament."

Tyndale:—Improve it: what is that that is broken, and that the priest eateth with his teeth? air only? If a child were fed with no other food, he should wax haply as long as his father. Whereof then should his body, his flesh and bones grow? All by miracle, will they say. O what wonderful miracles must we feign to save antichrist's doctrine! I might with as good reason say that the host is neither round nor white, but that as my mouth is deceived in the taste of bread, even so mine eyes are in the sight of roundness, and so is there nothing at all: which all are but the disputations of men with corrupt minds, without spirit to judge. Neverthelater, when the priest hath once rehearsed the testament of our Saviour thereon, I look not on bread and wine, but on the body of Christ broken, and blood shed for my sins; and by that faith am I saved from the damnation of my sins. Neither come I to mass for any other purpose than to fetch forgiveness for Christ's death's sake; nor for any other purpose say I *Confiteor*, and knowledge my sins at the beginning of mass. And if ye have other doctrine, teach us a reason, and lead us in light, and we will follow. Christ saith (John vi.), "It is the Spirit that quickeneth, the flesh profiteth nothing at all; the words which I speak," saith he, "are spirit and life:" that is, the fleshly eating and drinking of Christ's body and blood profit not, as his carnal presence profited not, by the reason of his presence only; as ye see by Judas and the Pharisees, and the

The corrupt and vain disputations of men to prove Christ to be really in the sacrament.

John vi.

form of מַסָּה tribute. Root מָסַס. On this and other conjectured etymologies of the word mass, the reader may see more in Foxe's Acts and Mon. Book x. at its commencement; or in Bingham's Chr. Antiquities, Book XIII. Ch. I. § iv. Vol. IV. p. 79. Straker's edition.]

soldiers that touched him, and how his bodily presence did let[1] the disciples to understand spiritually. But to eat and drink in the spirit, that is, to hearken unto his words and with a repenting heart to believe in his death, bringeth us all that Christ can do for us.

More:—"Item, that the mass availeth no man but the priest." Mass.

Tyndale:—If ye speak of the prayers, his prayers help us as much as ours him. If ye speak of the sacrament, it helpeth as many as be present, as much as him, if moved thereby they believe in Christ's death as well as he. If they be absent, the sacrament profiteth them as much as a sermon, made in the church, helpeth them that be in the fields. And how profiteth it the souls of the dead, tell me, unto whom it is no sign? If ye mean the carnal eating and drinking, then it profiteth the priest only; for he eateth and drinketh up all alone, and giveth no man part with him. The sacrament of Christ's body, when it is faithfully ministered, doth profit as many as do believe in Christ's death.

More:—"Item, that a man should not be houselled till he lay a dying."

Tyndale:—That is too shameless a lie.

More:—"Item, that men and women should not spare to touch it." Touch.

Tyndale:—A perilous case. Why? Because the pope has not oiled them. Nevertheless, Christ hath anointed them with his Spirit and with his blood. But wot ye why? The pope thinketh that if they should be too busy in handling it, they would believe that there were bread; and for that cause, to strength their faiths, he hath imagined little pretty thin manchets that shine through, and seem more like to be made of paper, or fine parchment, than of wheat flour. About which was no small question in Oxford of late days, whether it were bread or none; some affirming that the flour, with long lying in water, was turned to starch, and had lost its nature.

More:—"Item, that the sacrament should not be worshipped." Worship.

Tyndale:—It is the sacrament of Christ's body and blood. And Christ calleth it the new and everlasting testament in his blood; and commanded that we should so do in the remembrance of him, that his body was broken and his

[1] Hinder.]

The true worshipping of the sacrament is to believe that it is a true sign that Christ suffered death for us.

blood shed for our sins. And Paul commandeth thereby to shew, or preach, the Lord's death. They say not, Pray to it, neither put any faith therein. For I may not believe in the sacrament, but I must believe the sacrament, that it is a true sign, and it true that is signified thereby; which is the only worshipping of the sacrament: if ye give it other worship, ye plainly dishonour it. As I may not believe in Christ's church; but believe Christ's church, that the doctrine which they preach of Christ is true. If ye have any other doctrine, teach us a reason, and lead us in light, and we will follow.

More:—"Item, that a Christian is not bound to keep any law made by man, or any at all."

Tyndale:—You say untruly. A christian man is bound to obey tyranny, if it be not against his faith nor the law of God, until God deliver him thereof. But he is no christian man that bindeth him to any thing, save that which love and his neighbour's necessity requireth of him. And when a law made is no longer profitable, christian rulers ought to break it. But now-a-days, when tyrants have gotten the simple people under, they compel them to serve their lusts and wily tyranny, without respect of any commonwealth; which wily tyranny, because the truth rebuketh it, is the cause why they persecute it, lest the common people, seeing how good they should be, and feeling how wicked they are, should withdraw their necks from their unrighteous yoke: as ye have ensample in Herod, in the scribes and Pharisees, and in many other.

Purgatory.

More:—"Item, that there is no purgatory."

Tyndale:—Believe in Christ, and thou shalt shortly find purgatories enough, as ye now make other feel.

Soul's sleep.

More:—"Item, that all souls lie and sleep till doomsday."

Tyndale:—And ye, in putting them in heaven, hell, and purgatory, destroy the arguments wherewith Christ and Paul prove the resurrection. What God doth with them, that shall we know when we come to them. The true faith putteth the resurrection, which we be warned to look for every hour. The heathen philosophers, denying that, did put that the souls did ever live. And the pope joineth the spiritual doctrine of Christ and the fleshly doctrine of philosophers together; things so contrary that they cannot agree, no more than the Spirit

The souls departed rest at God's will and pleasure.

and the flesh do in a christian man. And because the fleshly-minded pope consenteth unto heathen doctrine, therefore he corrupteth the scripture to stablish it. Moses saith in Deut. "The secret things pertain unto the Lord, and the things that be opened pertain unto us, that we do all that is written in the book." Wherefore, sir, if we loved the laws of God, and would occupy ourselves to fulfil them, and would on the other side be meek, and let God alone with his secrets, and suffer him to be wiser than we, we should make none article of the faith of this or that. And again, if the souls be in heaven, tell me why they be not in as good case as the angels be? And then what cause is there of the resurrection? Deut. xxix.

More:—"Item, no man shall pray to saints." Saints.

Tyndale:—When ye speak with saints that be departed, it is not evil to put them in remembrance to pray for you.

More:—"Why do they not hear us?"

Tyndale:—If they love you so fervently, and be so great with God, why certify they you not, that they so do?

More:—"So they do, in that we feel our petitions granted."

Tyndale:—God saved the old idolaters with worldly salvation, and gave them their petitions, which they yet asked of their idols, as ye see throughout all the old Testament. God heareth the crows, fowls, beasts, and worms of the earth, as the text saith, "Men and beasts doth God save;" which beasts yet pray not to God. The Jews and Turks doth God save in this world, and giveth them their worldly petitions; which yet worship not God, as his godly nature is to be worshipped, but after their own imagination; not in the spirit, with faith, hope, and love, but with bodily service, as the pope doth. As the popish serve St Appoline for the tooth ache[1], and are healed; even so the Jews and Turks be healed, and pray not to her, but serve God after another manner for the same disease. So that God doth save in this world all that keep the worldly laws worldly; that is to wit, outward in the body for bodily reward, and not in the heart of love that springeth out of the mercy that God hath given us in Christ: which

Saints are not to be called upon; for we have no promise nor assurance that either they hear us or can profit us.

[1 Called in the Roman prayer-book or breviary, Apollonia. The ninth of February is dedicated to her, and the legend in the service of that day says that she bore the plucking out of all her teeth, rather than renounce Christ.]

same, though they be Turks, if they break the worldly laws, he rebuketh them, as the Ninevites, and punisheth them diversly. And if they knowledge their sins, and mend, he healeth them again: but and if they harden and sin as beasts, and will not amend, he destroyeth them utterly, as the Sodomites. And yet all such have no part in the life to come.

The children of God are obedient to his laws.

But with his children, in whose hearts he writeth the faith of his Son Jesus and the love of his laws, he goeth otherwise to work. His law is[1] their will: and their petitions are his honour and their neighbour's wealth; and that he will provide them of all things necessary unto this life, and govern them that their hearts be not overcome of evil. And he heareth them, unto his honour and their everlasting salvation; and purgeth them, and teacheth them things whereof the popish, and all they whose hearts the god of this world hath blinded, to serve God with works, have no feeling.

Images.

And when he saith that "the emperor and that council which decreed that images, for the abuse, should be put out of the church, were heretics;" it is much easier so to say than so to prove. Understand therefore, that images were not yet

Jerome.

received in the church in the time of St Jerome, at the least way generally; whether in some one place or no, I cannot

Images were not allowed in the primitive church.

tell. For St Jerome rehearseth of one Epiphanius, a bishop in the country of Cyprus[2], and that the most perfect of all the bishops of his time, how that the said Epiphanius and the bishop of Jerusalem went together to Bethel, and by the way they entered into a church for to pray, and there found a veil hanging before the door, and an image painted thereon, as it had been of Christ or some saint. For the bishop was so

Epiphanius cut the image.

moved therewith, because, saith St Jerome, that it was contrary to the scripture, that he cut it[3], and counselled to bury some dead therein, and sent another cloth to hang in the stead[4]. And afterward, when they were crept in a little and little, there was no worshipping of them, at the least way generally, until the time of St Gregory: insomuch that when

[1 So C. U. L. ed., D. has, *work his laws in.*]

[2 He was bishop of Salamis, in Cyprus, about A. D. 368.]

[3 So C. U. L. ed., D. wants *it.*]

[4 Epiphan. Op. Par. 1662. Epist. ad Johan. Episc. Hieros. Hieron. Interp. Tom. II. p. 317.]

Cirenus the bishop of Massilia, offended with the superstitiousness of the people, burnt them, St Gregory wrote that he should not destroy the images, but teach only that the people should not worship them[5]. But when it was so far come that the people worshipped them with a false faith (as we now know no other use), and [they] were no longer memorials only; then the bishops of Greece and the emperor gathered them together, to provide a remedy against that mischief, and concluded that they should be put down for the abuse, thinking it so most expedient[6]; having for them, first, the example of God, whom a man may boldly follow, which commanded in the beginning of all his precepts, that there should be no image used to worship or pray before, not for the image itself, but for the weakness of his people; and having again before their eyes, that the people were fallen unto idolatry and image-serving by the reason of them.

Gregory. Cirenus.

A council gathered in Greece did put down all images.

Now answer me, by what reason canst thou make an heretic of him that concludeth nought against God, but worketh with God, and putteth that block out of the way, whereat his brother, the price of Christ's blood, stumbleth and loseth his soul? They put not down the images for hate of God and of his saints, no more than Hezekiah brake the brasen serpent for envy of the great miracle that was wrought by it, or in spite of God, that commanded it to be kept for a memorial; but to keep the people in the true faith only. Now, seeing we may be all without images, and to put them

Hezekiah.

[5 Præterea indico dudum ad nos pervenisse, quod fraternitas vestra, quosdam imaginum adoratores aspiciens, easdem in ecclesiis imagines confregit atque projecit. Et quidem zelum vos, ne quid manu factum adorari posset, habuisse laudavimus; sed frangere easdem imagines non debuisse judicamus. Idcirco enim pictura in ecclesiis adhibetur, ut hi qui literas nesciunt, saltem in parietibus videndo legant quæ legere in codicibus non valent.—Greg. Mag. Papæ I. Op. Par. 1705. Lib. IX. Indict. ii. Epist. cv. Ad Serenum Massiliens. Episc. Tom. II. col. 1006.]

[6 In the year 754, the emperor Constantine Copronymus summoned an ecclesiastical council to meet at Constantinople; where 338 bishops, his subjects, assembled accordingly, and condemned image-worship. In the second Nicene council the rulers of the church first gave their formal sanction to image-worship; and affirmed that the prohibition of graven images was only binding on the Jews.—See Mosheim. Cent. VIII. ch. III. § 8-14. Labbe, Tom. VII. pp. 317, 584. Also Spelmanni Concilia; under date of 792, pp. 305-8. London, 1609.]

Images are not to be had in churches.

down is not against God's commandment, but with it; namely if they be abused, to the dishonour of God and hurt of our neighbours; where is charity, if thou which knowest the truth, and canst use thine image well, wilt not yet forbear thine image, and suffer it to be put out of the way, for thy weak brother's sake, whom thou seest perish therethrough? Yea, and what thing maketh both the Turk and the Jew abhor our faith so much as our image-service? But the pope was then glad to find an occasion to pick a quarrel with the emperor, to get the empire into his own hands; which thing he brought to pass with the sword of France, and clamb so high, that ever since he hath put his own authority instead of God's word in every general council, and hath concluded what him list; as against all God's word, and against all charity, he condemned that blessed deed of that council and emperor.

Our lady.

More:—"They blaspheme our lady and all saints."

Tyndale:—That is untrue. We honour our blessed lady and all holy saints; and follow their faith and living unto the uttermost of our power, and submit ourselves to be scholars of the same school.

Salve regina.

More:—"They may not abide *Salve regina*[1]."

Tyndale:—For therein is much blasphemy unto our blessed lady; because Christ is our hope and life only, and not she. And ye, in ascribing unto her that she is not, dishonour God and worship her not.

More:—"They say, if a woman being alive believe in God, and love him as much as our lady, she may help with her prayers as much as our lady."

Tyndale:—Tell, why not? Christ, when it was told

Matt. xii.

him that his mother and brethren sought him, answered, that his mother, his sisters, and his brethren, were all they that did his Father's will. And unto the woman that said to Christ, "Blessed be the womb that bare thee, and paps that

Luke xi.

gave thee suck," Christ answered, "Nay, blessed are they that

1 Cor. ix.

hear the word of God and keep it:" as Paul saith, (1 Cor. ix.)

The prayers of all good women are as well accepted of God as the prayers of our lady.

"I have nought to rejoice, though I preach; for necessity lieth upon me, and woe is me if I preach not. If I do it unwillingly, an office is committed unto me; but and if I do it with

[1 *Hail, O Queen.* Words at the commencement of an address to the Virgin, in the service of the Romish church.]

a good will, then I have a reward." So now carnal bearing of Christ, and carnal giving him suck, make not our lady great: but our blessed lady's greatness is her faith and love, wherein she exceeded other. Wherefore if God gave his mercy, that another woman were in those two points equal with her, why were she not like great, and her prayers as much heard?

More:—"Item, that men should not worship the holy cross." Cross.

Tyndale:—With no false worship and superstitious faith; but, as I have said, to have it in reverence, for the memorial of him that died thereon.

More:—"Item, Luther hateth the feasts of the cross, and of corpus Christi."

Tyndale:—Not for envy of the cross, which sinned not in the death of Christ; nor of malice toward the blessed body of Christ; but for the idolatry used in those feasts.

More:—"Item, that no man or woman is bound to keep any vow." Vow.

Tyndale:—Lawful vows are to be kept, until necessity break them. But unlawful vows are to be broken immediately.

More:—"Martin appealed unto the next general council that should be gathered in the Holy Ghost, to seek a long delay." Martin.

Tyndale:—Of a truth that were a long delay. For should Martin live till the pope gathered a council in the Holy Ghost, or for any godly purpose, he were like to be for every hair of his head a thousand years old.

Then bringeth he in the inconstancy of Martin, because he saith in his later book, how that he seeth farther than in his first. Peradventure he is kin to our doctors, which, when with preaching against pluralities they have got them three or four benefices, allege the same excuse. But yet, to say the truth, the very apostles of Christ learned not all truth in one day: for long after the ascension they wist not that the heathen should be received unto the faith. How then could Martin (brought up in the blindness of your sect above forty years) spy out all your falsehood in one day? Martin. All falsehood is not espied out in one day.

More:—"Martin offered at Worms, before the emperor and all the lords of Germany, to abide by his book and to

dispute: which he might well do, sith he had his safe conduct, that he should have no bodily harm."

Tyndale:— O merciful God, how foam ye out your own shame! Ye cannot dispute except ye have a man in your own danger[1], to do him bodily harm, to diet him after your fashion, to torment him and to murder him. If ye might have had him at your pleasure, ye would have disputed with him: first, with sophistry and corrupting the scripture; then with offering him promotions; then with the sword: so that ye would have been sure to have overcome him, with one argument or other.

Martin. *More:*—"He would agree on no judges."

Tyndale:— What judges offered ye him, save blind bishops and cardinals, enemies of all truth, whose promotions and dignities they fear to be plucked from them, if the truth came to light, or such Judases as they had corrupt with money to maintain their sect? The apostles might have admitted as well the heathen bishops of idols to have been their judges, as he them. But he offered you authentic scripture, and the hearts of the whole world: which two judges, if ye had good consciences and trust in God, ye would not have refused.

The Fourth Chapter.

The fourth chapter is not the first poetry that he hath feigned[2].

The Fifth Chapter.

In the end of the fifth he untruly reporteth, that Martin saith, no man is bound to keep any vow[3]. Lawful promises are to be kept, and unlawful to be broken.

The Sixth Chapter.

In the beginning of the sixth he describeth Martin after the example of his own nature; as in other places he de-

[1 At your own mercy.]

[2 It is throughout a criticism on a narrative of the proceedings in the diet at Worms, of which More asserts that Luther composed it in the third person that he might praise himself, but left internal evidence of its being his own composition.]

[3 "He wrote that no vow could bind any man, but that every man may boldly break them of his own head."—More's Works, Dial. p. 256]

scribeth God after the complexion of popes, cardinals, and worldly tyrants[4].

More:—"Martin will abide but by the scriptures only." Martin.

Tyndale:—And ye will come at no scripture only. And as for the old doctors, ye will hear as little, save where it pleaseth you, for all your crying 'Old holy fathers[5].' For tell me this, why have ye in England condemned 'The Union of Doctors[6],' but because ye would not have your falsehood disclosed by the doctrine of them?

[4 The sixth chapter begins as follows: "His inconstant wit, and very devilish intent, specially shewed itself.—In the beginning the man had the mind that commonly such fools have: he reckoned all the world wild geese save himself, and all the wit and learning to stand in his own head."—Id. ibid.]

[5 "All the old holy fathers of so many years past he [i.e. Luther] nothing would esteem; but with blasphemous words letted not to write, I care not for Austin, &c."—Id. p. 257.]

[6 We shall find Tyndale again mentioning 'The Union of Doctors;' and that Foxe has there put in the margin, 'The union of doctors a good book.' There are no discoverable traces of any work with precisely this title; but Tyndale might thus designate a book whose title is, *Unio* dissidentium; Libellus ex præcipuis ecclesiæ Christianæ *doctoribus* selectus, per venerabilem patrem Herman. Bodium. In England it was briefly called *Unio dissidentium*, in the public documents of Tyndale's day. The first list of prohibited books in which it appears is a very short one, appended by Foxe to the order issued by Tonstal, demanding the surrender of Tyndale's New testaments. See Biograph. notice, Vol. I. p. xxxii. At an inquisitorial visitation of the diocese of London, held in the following March, $152\frac{6}{7}$, by Tonstal's vicar-general, Sir Sebastian Harris, curate of the parish-church of Kensington, was induced to confess 'that he had two books, viz. The New testament in the vulgar tongue, translated by William Hotchyn, priest, and friar Roye, and *Unio dissidentium*, containing in it the Lutheran heresy;' which books he was accordingly enjoined to surrender. And in the reply of the martyr, John Lambert, to the forty-five articles of inquiry, he mentions the *Unio dissidentium*, and adds, 'which I would to Christ, as it is in French and other languages, we had it truly translated into English.' Foxe, Acts and Mon. Vol. v. pp. 183, and 216; and Strype's Mem. Eccles. Vol. I. ch. VII. The book appears to have also penetrated Scotland; being mentioned in the eleventh article charged against Sir Jno. Borthwike, Knt., in 1540, when he was cited to appear before David Beaton, Abp. of St Andrew's, where it is said to contain 'most manifest and great errors, and heretical assumptions.' Foxe, Acts and Mon. Vol. v. p. 620. An edition had been printed at Antwerp, in 1527.]

More:—"They say, that a christian man is discharged of all laws spiritual and temporal, save the gospel."

Tyndale:—Ye juggle: we say that no christian man ought to bind his brother violently unto any law, whereof he could not give a reason out of Christ's doctrine, and out of the law of love. And on the other side we say, that a christian man is called to suffer wrong and tyranny (though no man ought to bind him), until God rid us thereof; so far yet as the tyranny is not directly against the law of God and faith of Christ, and no farther.

How far a christian man is bound to suffer. W.T.

More:—"Martin was the cause of the destruction of the uplandish[1] people of Germany."

Tyndale:—That is false; for then he could not have escaped himself. Martin was as much the cause of their confusion, as Christ of the destruction of Jerusalem. The duke elector of Saxony came from the war of those uplandish people, and other dukes with him, into Wittenberg, where Martin is, with fifteen hundred men of arms; so that Martin, if he had been guilty, could not have gone quit. And thereto all the dukes and lords, that cleave unto the word of God this day, were no less cumbered with their common people than other men.

Then after the loudest manner he setteth out the cruelness of the emperor's soldiers, which they used at Rome; but he maketh no mention of the treason which holy church wrought secretly, wherewith the men of war were so set on fire.

The Eighth Chapter.

More:—"What good deed will he do, that believeth Martin, how that we have no free-will to do any good with the help of grace?"

Tyndale:—O poet, without shame!

More:—"What harm shall he care to forbear, that believeth Luther, how God alone, without our will, worketh all the mischief that they do?"

Tyndale:—O natural son of the father of all lies!

More:—"What shall he care how long he live in sin, that believeth Luther, that he shall after this life feel nei-

[1 Uplandish: so called to distinguish them from the Netherlanders.]

ther good nor evil, in body nor soul, until the day of doom?"

Tyndale:—Christ and his apostles taught no other; but warned to look for Christ's coming again every hour: which coming again because ye believe will never be, therefore have ye feigned that other merchandise.

More:—"Martin's books be open, if ye will not believe us."

Tyndale:—Nay, ye have shut them up, and therefore be bold to say what ye lust.

More:—"They live as they teach, and teach as they live."

Tyndale:—But neither teach nor live, as other lie on them.

The Ninth Chapter.

More:—"Though the Turk offer pleasures unto the receivers, and death unto the refusers of his sect," (as the pope doth,) "yet he suffereth none to break their promises of chastity dedicated to God," (though haply they use no such vows, and as the pope will not, except it be for money,) "but Luther teacheth to break holy vows."

Tyndale:—Luther teacheth that unlawful vows, grounded on a false faith unto the dishonouring of God, are to be broken, and no other. And again, constrained service pleaseth not God. And thirdly, your pope giveth licence and his blessing to break all lawful vows; but with the most unlawful of all will ye not dispense. Unlawful vows are not to be observed

Then he bringeth forth the ensample of the heathen, to confirm the pope's chastity: and no wrong; for the same false imagination that the heathen had in theirs, hath the pope in his. Understand therefore, if thou vow any indifferent thing to please God in his own person, he receiveth not thine idolatry; for his pleasure and honour is, that thou shouldest be as he hath made thee, and should receive all such things of his hand, and use them so far forth as they were needful, and give him thanks, and be bound to him; and not that thou shouldest be as thou hadst made thyself, and that he should receive such things of thee, to be bound to thee, to thank thee, and reward thee. And again, thou must give me a reason of thy vow out of the word of God. Moreover, when thou vowest lawfully, thou mayest not do it Vows.

All vows are to be made with great advisement.

precisely, but alway except, if thine own or thy neighbour's necessity required the contrary: as if thou hadst vowed never to eat flesh, or drink wine or strong drink, to tame thy flesh, and thou afterward fellest in disease, so that thy body in that behalf were too tame, or that there could no other sustenance be gotten; then thou must interpret such cases except, though thou madest no mention of them at the making of thy vow. Some man would say, other shift might be made: what then? If other drink as hot as wine and of the same operation, and other meat of the same power and virtue as flesh is, must be had, why shouldest thou forswear wine or flesh, seeing it is now no longer for the taming of thy body? And so forth of all other, as I have above declared.

We must use God's creatures for our necessity.

And when he bringeth in the apostles, martyrs, confessors, and fifteen hundred years, it is clean contrary. For they had no such false imagination of chastity, or of any other work: but they used it to serve their neighbour, and to avoid trouble in time of persecution, and to be eased of that burden that was too heavy for their weak shoulders; and not to compel God to thank them for that liberty for which they be bound to thank him.

All our abstinence and chastising of ourselves is to our own profit.

The Tenth Chapter.

Free-will.

In the tenth he inveigheth and raileth against that which neither he nor any fleshly-minded papist can understand, as they have no power to consent unto the laws of God; which herein appeareth, that they compel their brethren, which be as good as they, to do and believe what they lust, and not what God commandeth. He affirmeth that "Martin saith, how that we do no sin ourselves with our own will, but that God sinneth in us, and useth us as a dead instrument, and forceth us thereunto, and damneth us, not for our own deeds, but for his, and for his own pleasure, as he compelleth unto sin for his pleasure, or rather he for his pleasure sinneth in us." I say that a man sinneth voluntarily; but the power of the will and of the deed is of God, and every will and deed are good in the nature of the deed, and the evilness is a lack that there is; as the eye, though it be blind, is good in nature, in that it is such a member, created for such a

More blasphemeth God.

good use, but it is called evil for lack of sight. And so are our deeds evil, because we lack knowledge and love, to refer them unto the glory of God: which lack cometh of the devil, that blindeth us with lusts, and occasions that we cannot see the goodness and righteousness of the law of God, and the means how to fulfil it; for could we see it, and the way to do it, we should love it naturally, as a child doth a fair apple. For as a child, when a man sheweth him a fair apple, and will not give it him, weepeth; so should we naturally mourn, when the members would not come forward to fulfil the law according to the desire of our hearts. For Paul saith, (2 Cor. iv.), "If our gospel be hid, it is hid unto them that perish, among which the God of this world hath blinded the wits of the unbelievers, that the light of the glorious gospel of Christ should not shine to them." And Christ saith that the birds eat up the seed sown upon the way; and interpreteth by the seed the word, and by the fowls the devil: so that the devil blindeth us with falsehood and lies, which is our worldly wisdom, and therewith stoppeth out the true light of God's wisdom; which blindness is the evilness of all our deeds.

Our deeds are evil, because we lack knowledge to refer them unto the glory of God.

2 Cor. iv.

The devil is the blinder and keeper of us from the understanding of God's will.

And on the other side, that another man loveth the laws of God, and useth the power that he hath of God well, and referreth his will and his deeds unto the honour of God, cometh of the mercy of God, which hath opened his wits, and shewed him light, to see the goodness and righteousness of the law of God, and the way that is in Christ to fulfil it; whereby he loveth it naturally, and trusteth to do it. Why doth God open one man's eyes and not another's? Paul (Rom. ix.) forbiddeth to ask why; for it is too deep for man's capacity. God we see is honoured thereby, and his mercy set out and the more seen in the vessels of mercy. But the popish can suffer God to have no secret, hid to himself. They have searched to come to the bottom of his bottomless wisdom: and because they cannot attain to that secret, and be too proud to let it alone, and to grant themselves ignorant, with the apostle, that knew no other than God's glory in the elect; they go and set up free-will with the heathen philosophers, and say that a man's free-will is the cause why God chooseth one and not another, contrary unto all the scripture. Paul saith it cometh not of the will, nor of the deed, but of

Rom. ix.

We may not be curious, to search God's secrets.

A papistical opinion.

the mercy of God. And they say that every man hath, at the least way, power in his free-will, to deserve that power should be given him of God to keep the law. But the scripture testifieth that Christ hath deserved for the elect, even then when they hated God, that their eyes should be opened, to see the goodness of the law of God, and the way to fulfil it, and forgiveness of all that is past; whereby they be drawn to love it, and to hate sin.

Wit, reason, and judgment, goeth before will.

I ask the popish one question, whether the will can prevent a man's wit, and make the wit see the righteousness of the law, and the way to fulfil it in Christ? If I must first see the reason why, ere I can love, how shall I with my will do that good thing that I know not of? How shall I thank God for the mercy that is laid up for me in Christ, ere I believe it? For I must believe the mercy, ere I can love the work. Now faith cometh not of our free-will; but is the gift of God, given us by grace, ere there be any will in our hearts to do the law of God. And why God giveth it not every man, I can give no reckoning of his judgments. But well I wot, I never deserved it, nor prepared myself unto it; but ran another way clean contrary in my blindness, and sought not that way; but he sought me, and found me out, and shewed it me, and therewith drew me to him. And I bow the knees of my heart unto God night and day, that he will shew it all other men; and I suffer all that I can, to be a servant to open their eyes. For well I wot they cannot see of themselves, before God hath prevented them with his grace: for Paul saith (Phil. i.), "He that began a good work in you shall continue," or bring it unto a full end; so that God must begin to work in us: and (Phil. ii.), "God it is that worketh both the willing, and also bringing to pass." And it must needs be; for God must open mine eyes, and shew me somewhat, and make me see the goodness of it, to draw me to him, ere I can love, consent, or have any actual will to come.

Faith is the gift of God, and cometh not by free-will.

Phil. i.

Phil. ii. God is the first worker, and bringer to pass, of our well doings.

And when I am willing, he must assist me, and help to tame my flesh, and to overcome the occasions of the world and the power of the fiends. God therefore hath a special care for his elect, insomuch that he will shorten the wicked days for their sakes, in which no man, if they should continue, might endure. And Paul suffereth all for the elect.

Matt. xxiv.

(2 Tim. ii.). And "God's sure foundation standeth," saith Paul; "God knoweth his." So that refuse the truth who shall, God will keep a number of his mercy, and call them out of blindness, to testify the truth unto the rest, that their damnation may be without excuse. 2 Tim. ii.

The Turk, the Jew, and the popish build upon free-will, and ascribe their justifying unto their works. The Turk, when he hath sinned, runneth to the purifyings, or ceremonies of Mahomet; and the Jew to the ceremonies of Moses; and the pope unto his own ceremonies, to fetch forgiveness of their sins. And the Christian goeth through repentance toward the law unto the faith that is in Christ's blood. And the pope saith that the ceremonies of Moses justified not, compelled with the words of Paul: and how then should his justify? Moses' sacraments were but signs of promises of faith, by which faith the believers are justified; and even so be Christ's also. And now, because the Jews have put out the significations of their sacraments, and put their trust in the works of them, therefore they be idolaters; and so is the pope for like purpose. The pope saith that Christ died not for us, but for the sacraments; to give them power to justify. O antichrist! The Christians seek help of Christ. O abominable blasphemy!

The Eleventh Chapter.

His eleventh chapter is as true as his story of Utopia, and all his other poetry. He meaneth doctor Ferman, parson of Honey-lane[1]: whom after they had handled after their Doctor Ferman.

[1] The eleventh is a chapter of twenty-four closely printed columns, in which More describes the examination of a reformer; and gives his own account of the man's answers and the replies made to him, respecting justification by faith only, and some tenets falsely charged upon the reformers. More says: 'It happed me to be lately present, where as one in the Lutheran's books deeply learned, and of truth neither in holy scripture nor in secular literature unlearned (as I perceive not only by the testimony of other men, and the degrees that he had taken in the university, but also by his words and his writing), was in the presence of right honourable, and virtuous, and very cunning persons examined. For he was at that time in ward for heresy, because that being learned and using to hear confessions, and among many folk meetly well allowed in preaching, and thereby growing in good opinion and favour of many good simple people, he abused all the open and apparent good things, to the secret sowing and setting forth of Luther's heresies.'—Dial. Works, p. 262. Dr Ferman, or

secret manner, and disputed with secretly, and had made him swear that he should not utter how he was dealt with, as they have made many other; then they contrived a manner of disputations had with him, with such oppositions, answerings, and arguments, as should serve only to set forth their purpose: as M. More throughout all his book maketh, 'Quod he,' to dispute and move questions, after such a manner as he can soil them, or make them appear soiled; and maketh him grant where he listeth, and at the last to be concluded and led whither Master More will have him. Wherefore I will not rehearse all the arguments, for it were too long; and is also not to be believed, that he so made them, or so disputed with them, but that they added and pulled away, and feigned as they list, as their guise is. But I will declare in light that which Master More ruffleth up in darkness, that ye may see their falsehood.

Master Dr Ferman was a virtuous, godly, and learned man.

A true note to know hypocrites.

First, if ye were not false hypocrites, why had ye not disputed openly with him; that the world might have heard and borne record, that that which ye now say of him were true? What cause is there that the lay people might not as well have heard his words of his own mouth, as read them of your writing; except ye were juggling spirits that walk in darkness?

When Master More saith the church teacheth that men should not trust in their works, it is false; if he mean the pope's church. For they teach a man to trust in dumb ceremonies, and sacraments, in penance, and all manner works that come them to profit; which yet help not unto repentance, nor to faith, nor to love a man's neighbour.

Master More declareth the meaning of no sentence; he describeth the proper signification of no word, nor the difference of the significations of any term; but runneth forth confusedly, in unknown words and general terms. And where one word hath many significations, he maketh a man some time believe that many things are but one thing, and some time he leadeth from one signification unto another, and mocketh a man's wits: as he juggleth with his term 'church';

M. More is a juggler with terms.

Forman, was rector of All-Hallows in Honey-lane. His forced appearance before Tonstal, then bishop of London, is mentioned in Strype, Eccles. Memorials, Vol. I. Book i. ch. viii. See also Anderson's Annals, Vol. I. pp. 92, 189.]

making us in the beginning understand all that believe, and in the conclusion the priests only. He telleth not the office of the law; he describeth not his penance, nor the virtue thereof, nor use; he declareth no sacrament, nor what they mean, nor the use; nor wherein the fruit of confession standeth; nor whence the power of the absolution cometh, nor wherein it resteth; nor what justifying meaneth, nor the order; nor sheweth any diversity of faiths, as though all faiths were one faith and one thing.

The order of justifying.

Mark therefore, the way toward justifying, or forgiveness of sin, is the law. God causeth the law to be preached unto us, and writeth it in our hearts, and maketh us by good reasons feel that the law is good, and ought to be kept, and that they which keep it not are worthy to be damned. And on the other side I feel that there is no power in me to keep the law; whereupon it would shortly follow that I should despair, if I were not shortly holp. But God, which hath begun to cure me, and hath laid that corosy[1] unto my sores, goeth forth in his cure, and setteth his son Jesus before me, and all his passion and death, and saith to me: 'This is my dear Son, and he hath prayed for thee, and hath suffered all this for thee; and for his sake I will forgive thee all that thou hast done against this good law, and I will heal thy flesh, and teach thee to keep this law, if thou learn.' And I will bear with thee, and take all a worth[1] 'that thou doest, till thou canst do better; and in the mean season, notwithstanding thy weakness, I will yet love thee no less than I do the angels in heaven, so thou wilt be diligent to learn. And I will assist thee, and keep thee, and defend thee, and be thy shield, and care for thee.' And the heart here beginneth to mollify and wax soft, and to receive health, and believeth the mercy of God, and in believing is saved from the fear of everlasting death, and made sure of everlasting life; and then, being overcome with this kindness, beginneth to love again and to submit herself unto the laws of God, to learn them and to walk in them.

A lively description of our justification.

The great mercy and kindness of God moveth man to repentance.

Note now the order: first God giveth me light to see the goodness and righteousness of the law, and mine own sin and unrighteousness; out of which knowledge springeth repentance. Now repentance teacheth me not that the law is good,

The right order of our justification.

[1 *Corosy* and *a worth*. See Vol. I. p. 21, and 463.]

and I evil; but a light that the Spirit of God hath given me, out of which light repentance springeth.

Then the same Spirit worketh in mine heart trust and confidence, to believe the mercy of God and his truth, that he will do as he hath promised; which belief saveth me. And immediately out of that trust springeth love toward the law of God again. And whatsoever a man worketh of any other love than this, it pleaseth not God, nor is that love godly.

Now love doth not receive this mercy, but faith only, out of which faith love springeth; by which love I pour out again upon my neighbour that goodness which I have received of God by faith. Hereof ye see that I cannot be justified without repentance; and yet repentance justifieth me not. And hereof ye see that I cannot have a faith to be justified and saved, except love spring thereof immediately; and yet love justifieth me not before God. For my natural love to God again doth not make me first see and feel the kindness of God in Christ, but faith through preaching. For we love not God first, to compel him to love again; but he loved us first, and gave his Son for us, that we might see love and love again, saith St John in his first epistle: which love of God to us-ward we receive by Christ through faith, saith Paul.

1 John iv.

Faith only apprehendeth our justification.

And this example have I set out for them in divers places; but their blind popish eyes have no power to see it, covetousness hath so blinded them. And when we say, faith only justifieth us, that is to say, receiveth the mercy wherewith God justifieth us and forgiveth us; we mean not faith which hath no repentance, and faith which hath no love unto the laws of God again, and unto good works, as wicked hypocrites falsely belie us. For how then should we suffer, as we do, all misery, to call the blind and ignorant unto repentance and good works; which now do but consent unto all evil, and study mischief all day long, for all their preaching their justifying of good works? Let M. More improve this with his sophistry, and set forth his own doctrine; that we may see the reason of it, and walk in light.

What faith justifieth.

Hereof ye see what faith it is that justifieth us. The faith in Christ's blood, of a repenting heart toward the law, doth justify us only; and not all manner faiths. Ye must understand therefore, that ye may see to come out of More's blind maze, how that there be many faiths; and that all faiths be

not one faith, though they be all called with one general name. There is a story faith, without feeling in the heart, wherewith I may believe the whole story of the bible, and yet not set mine heart earnestly thereto, taking it for the food of my soul, to learn to believe and trust God, to love him, dread him and fear him by the doctrine and ensamples thereof; but to seem learned, and to know the story, to dispute and make merchandise, after as we have examples enough. And the faith wherewith a man doth miracles is another gift than the faith of a repenting heart, to be saved through Christ's blood; and the one no kin to the other, though M. More would have them so appear. Neither is the devil's faith, and the pope's faith (wherewith they believe that there is a God, and that Christ is, and all the story of the bible, and may yet stand with all wickedness, and full consent to evil), kin unto the faith of them that hate evil, and repent of their misdeeds, and knowledge their sins, and be fled with full hope and trust of mercy unto the blood of Christ.

There are diversities of faith, and but one faith that justifieth us.

And when he saith, 'If faith certify our hearts that we be in the favour of God, and our sins forgiven, and become good, ere we do good works (as the tree must be first good, ere it bring forth good fruit, by Christ's doctrine), then we make good works but a shadow wherewith a man is never the better.' Nay, sir, we make good works fruits; whereby our neighbour is the better, and whereby God is honoured, and our flesh tamed. And we make of them sure tokens; whereby we know that our faith is no feigned imagination and dead opinion, made with captiving our wits after the pope's traditions, but a lively thing wrought by the Holy Ghost.

Works.

Out of a lively and justifying faith springeth good works.

And when he disputeth, 'If they that have faith, have love unto the law, and purpose to fulfil it, then faith alone justifieth not;' how will he prove that argument? He juggleth with this word 'alone'; and would make the people believe that we said, how a bare faith that is without all other company, of repentance, love, and other virtues, yea, and without God's Spirit too, did justify us, so that we should not care to do good. But the scripture so taketh not *alone*, nor we so mean, as M. More knoweth well enough. When an horse beareth a saddle and a man therein, we may well say, that the horse only, and alone, beareth the saddle; and is not holp of the man in bearing thereof. But he would make men understand that

Faith alone justifieth.

A similitude.

we meant, the horse bare the saddle empty and no man therein: let him mark this, to see his ignorance, which would God were not coupled with malice. Every man that hath wit hath a will too; and then, by M. More's argument, wit only giveth not the light of the understanding. Now the conclusion is false, and contrary true: for the wit without help of the will giveth the light of the understanding; neither doth the will work at all, until the wit have determined this or that to be good or bad. Now what is faith, save a spiritual light of understanding, and an inward knowledge or feeling of mercy? Out of which knowledge love doth spring. But love brought me not that knowledge, for I knew it ere I loved: so that love in the process of nature, to dispute from the cause to the effect, helpeth not at all to the feeling that God is merciful to me; no more than the loving heart and kind behaviour of an obedient wife to her husband maketh her see his love and kindness to her; for many such have unkind husbands: but by his kind deeds to her doth she see his love. Even so my love and deeds make me not see God's love to me, in the process of nature; but his kind deeds to me, in that he gave his Son for me, make me see his love, and to love again.

More is maliciously blind.

An apt and proper example of love.

Our love and good works make not God first love us, and change him from hate to love, as the Turk, Jew, and vain popish mean; but his love and deeds make us love, and change us from hate to love. For he loved us when we were evil, and his enemies, as testifieth Paul in divers places; and chose us, to make us good and to shew us love, and to draw us to him, that we should love again.

Rom. v. God loved us first, that we should love him again.

The father loveth his child, when it hath no power to do good, and when it must be suffered to run after its own lusts without law; and never loveth it better than then, to make it better, and to shew it love, to love again. If ye could see what is written in the first epistle of John, though all the other scripture were laid apart, ye should see all this.

And ye must understand, that we sometime dispute forward, from the cause to the effect; and sometime backward from the effect to the cause, and must beware that we be not therewith beguiled. We say, summer is come, and therefore all is green; and dispute forward: for summer is the cause of greenness. We say the trees be green, and therefore summer is come; and dispute backward from the

effect to the cause: for the green trees make not summer, but make summer known. So we dispute backward: the man doth good deeds, and profitable unto his neighbour; he must therefore love God: he loveth God; he must therefore have a true faith and see mercy. And yet my works make not my love, nor my love my faith, nor my faith God's mercy: but contrary, God's mercy maketh my faith; and my faith, my love; and my love, my works. And if the pope could see mercy, and work of love to his neighbour, and not sell his works to God for heaven, after Master More's doctrine, we needed not so subtle disputing of faith.

He that loveth God, loveth his neighbour.

Note here the mercy and goodness of God.

And when M. More allegeth Paul to the Corinthians, to prove that faith may be without love, he proveth nothing, but juggleth only. He saith, 'It is evident by the words of Paul, that a man may have a faith to do miracles without love, and may give all his good in alms without love, and his body to burn for the name of Christ, and all without charity.' Well, I will not stick with him: he may so do, without charity, and without faith thereto. Then a man may have faith without faith. Yea, verily, because there be many differences of faith, as I have said; and not all faiths one faith, as Master More juggleth. We read in the works of St Cyprian, that there were martyrs that suffered martyrdom for the name of Christ all the year long, and were tormented and healed again, and then brought forth afresh: which martyrs believed, as ye do, that the pain of their martyrdom should be a deserving, and merit enough, not only to deserve heaven for themselves, but to make satisfaction for the sins of other men thereto; and gave pardons of their merits, after the ensample of the pope's doctrine; and forgave the sins of other men, which had openly denied Christ, and wrote unto Cyprian, that he should receive those men that had denied Christ into the congregation again, at the satisfaction of their merits: for which pride Cyprian wrote to them, and called them the devil's martyrs, and not God's[1]. Those martyrs had a faith without faith: for had

Faith may be had without love, but it is a barren and naked faith.

Cyprian. Martyrs that suffered all a year long. W. T.

The devil's martyrs.

[1 Amongst Cyprian's correspondence are several letters on this topic. It was not till some of the apostates had proceeded so far as to say, 'Since the martyrs' requests are not allowed to suffice for our immediate re-admission to communion, we will have a church and bishop of our own,' and had acted upon this threat, that Cyprian spoke

they believed that all mercy is given for Christ's blood-shedding, they would have sent other men thither; and would have suffered their own martyrdom for love of their neighbours only, to serve them, and to testify the truth of God in our Saviour Jesus unto the world, to save at the least way some, that is to wete, the elect; for whose sake Paul suffereth all things, and not to win heaven. If I work for a worldly purpose, I get no reward in heaven: even so if I work for heaven, or an higher place in heaven, I get there no reward. But I must do my work for the love of my neighbour, because he is my brother, and the price of Christ's blood, and because Christ hath deserved it, and desireth it of me; and then my reward is great in heaven.

We must do good works of love, and not for reward.

And all they which believe that their sins be forgiven them, and they received, as the scripture testifieth, unto the inheritance of heaven for Christ's merits, the same love Christ, and their brethren for his sake; and do all things for their sakes only; not once thinking of heaven when they work, but on their brethren's need. When they suffer themselves above might, then they comfort their soul with the remembrance of heaven, that this wretchedness shall have an end, and we shall have a thousand-fold pleasures and rewards in heaven; not for the merits of our deservings, but given us freely for Christ's. And he that hath that love hath the right faith; and he that hath that faith hath the right love. For I cannot love my neighbour for Christ's sake, except I first believe that I have received such mercy of Christ. Nor can I believe that I have received such mercy of Christ, but that I must love my neighbour for his sake; seeing that he so instantly desireth me.

Our doings can deserve nothing, but Christ hath deserved for us.

James ii.

And when he allegeth St James, it is answered him in the Mammon[1]; and St Augustine answereth him[2]. And St

of their abettors in any terms of such severity as Tyndale mentions.—Ep. XLI-XLIII. p. 29-85.—Cyprian. Op. Oxford, 1682.]

[1 Parable of Mammon, Vol. I. p. 119.]

[2 More, having previously named Luther and Tyndale, says: "They would we should ween that St James did speak of faith like one that wist not what faith meant, but were deceived by equivocation of the word, calling faith the thing that is not faith indeed. These Lutherans abuse the word of a malicious mind, to deceive unlearned people with equivocation. For whereas faith signifieth the belief and firm credence given not only to such things as God pro-

James expoundeth himself. For he saith in the first chapter, "God, which begat us with his own will, with the word of truth:" which word of truth is his promise of mercy and forgiveness in our Saviour Jesus; by which he begat us, gave us life, and made us a new creature through a fast faith. And James goeth and rebuketh the opinion and false faith of them that think it enough to be saved by, if they believe that there is but one God, and that Christ was born of a virgin, and a thousand things which a man may believe, and yet not believe in Christ, to be saved from sin through him. And that James speaketh of another faith than at the beginning, appeareth by his ensample. The devils have faith, saith he: yea, but the devils have no faith that can repent of evil, or to believe in Christ to be saved through him, or that can love God, and work his will of love. Now Paul speaketh of a faith that is in Christ's blood, to be saved thereby; which worketh immediately, through love of the benefit received. And James, at the beginning, speaketh of a faith that bideth trying, saying, "The trying of your faith worketh," or causeth, "patience;" but the faith of the devils will bide no trying, for they will not work God's will, because they love him not. And in like manner is it of the faith of them that repent not, or that think themselves without sin: for except a man feel out of what danger Christ hath delivered him, he cannot love the work. And therefore James saith right, 'that no such faith, that will not work, can justify a man.'

James reproveth false faith, and not a true lively faith.

Faith that will not work, when opportunity serveth, cannot justify.

miseth, but also to every truth that he telleth his church, by writing or without, which thing he will have us bound to believe; and whereas of truth the devils, as James saith, do believe such things, and have them in a reverent dread; now would these heretics blind us with their equivocation, by which they not only restrain the faith unto the promises alone, from all other articles of the faith, of which many be no promises, but also abuse the word faith altogether, turning it slyly from belief into trust, confidence, and hope; and would have it seem as though our faith were nothing else but a hope we have in God's promises."—Works, Dial. p. 266. Conf. August. Op. Paris. 1679—1700. Serm. clxx. xiii. Tom. v. col. 878. Jacobus apostolus cum de fide et operibus loqueretur adversus eos qui sibi putabant fidem sufficere, et opera bona habere nolebant, ait, Tu credis quia unus est Deus; bene facis; et dæmones credunt, et contremiscunt. Numquid ideo dæmones ab æterno igne liberabuntur, quia credunt et contremiscunt? Ecce modo quod audistis in evangelio, quod ait Petrus, &c.]

And when Paul saith, 'faith only justifieth;' and James, that 'a man is justified by works and not by faith only;' there is a great difference between Paul's *only*, and James's *only*. For Paul's *only* is to be understood, that faith justifieth in the heart and before God, without help of works, yea, and ere I can work; for I must receive life through faith to work with, ere I can work. But James's *only* is this wise to be understood; that faith doth not so justify, that nothing justifieth save faith: for deeds do justify also. But faith justifieth in the heart and before God; and the deeds before the world only, and maketh the other seen: as ye may see by the scripture.

How works justify. W. T.

Rom. iv.

For Paul saith (Rom. iv.) "If Abraham have works, he hath whereof to rejoice, but not before God." For if Abraham had received those promises of deserving, then had it been Abraham's praise and not God's, as thou mayest see in the text; neither had God shewed Abraham mercy and grace, but had only given him his duty and deserving. But in that Abraham received all the mercy that was shewed him, freely, through faith, out of the deservings of the Seed that was promised him, as thou mayest see by Genesis and by the gospel of John, where Christ testifieth that Abraham saw his day and rejoiced, and of that joy no doubt wrought; it is God's praise, and the glory of his mercy. And the same mayest thou see by James; when he saith, "Abraham offered his son, and so was the scripture fulfilled, that Abraham believed, and it was reckoned him for righteousness, and he was thereby made God's friend." How was it fulfilled? Before God? Nay, it was fulfilled before God many years before; and he was God's friend many years before, even from the first appointment that was made between God and him: Abraham received promises of all mercy, and believed and trusted God, and went and wrought out of that faith. But it was fulfilled before us which cannot see the heart; as James saith, "I will shew thee my faith out of my works;" and as the angel said to Abraham, "Now I know that thou dreadest God." Not but that he knew it before, but for us spake he that, which can see nought in Abraham more than in other men, save by his works.

John viii.

Abraham believed God's promises, and therefore was justified.

And what works meant James? Verily, the works of mercy. As if a brother or a sister lack raiment or suste-

nance, and ye be not moved to compassion, nor feel their diseases, what faith have ye then? No faith (be sure) that feeleth the mercy that is in Christ: for they that feel that, be merciful again and thankful. But look on the works of our spiritualty, which will not only be justified with works before the world, but also before God. They have had all Christendom to rule this eight hundred years, and as they only be anointed in the head, so have they only been king and emperor, and have had all power in their hands, and have been the doers only, and the leaders of those shadows that have had the name of princes; and have led them whither they would, and have breathed into their brains what they listed. And they have wrought the world out of peace and unity, and every man out of his welfare; and are become alone well at ease, only free, only at liberty, only have all thing, and only do nought therefore, only lay on other men's backs, and bear nought themselves. And the good works of them that wrought out of faith, and gave their goods and lands to find the poor, them devour they also alone. And what works preach they? Only that are to them profitable, and whereby they reign in men's consciences as God: to offer, to give to be prayed for, and to be delivered out of purgatory, and to redeem your sin of them, and to worship ceremonies, and to be shriven, and so forth.

He that seeth his neighbour in necessity, and hath no compassion on him, hath no faith.

The papists preach works that are profitable to themselves.

And when M. More is come to himself, and saith, "The first faith and the first justifying is given us without our deserving;" God be thanked, and I would fain that he would describe me what he meaneth by the second justifying[1]. I know no more to do than, when I have received all mercy and all forgiveness of Christ freely, to go and pour out the same upon my neighbour.

More:—"David lost not his faith, when he committed adultery." David.

Tyndale:—No; and therefore he could not continue in sin, but repented as soon as his fault was told him. But was he not reconciled by faith only, and not by deeds? Said he not, "Have mercy on me, Lord, for thy great mercy, and for the multitude of thy mercies put away my sin?" And again, Psalm li.

[1 'The first receipt of grace in their divinity is the first justification: the increase thereof the second justification.'—Disc. of Just., Hooker's Works, Vol. III. p. 435. Oxford, 1807.]

"Make me hear joy and gladness, that the bones which thou hast broken may rejoice?" that is, let me hear thy voice that my sin is forgiven, and then I am safe and will rejoice. And afterward he knowledgeth that God delighteth not in sacrifices for sins, but that a troubled spirit and a broken heart is that which God requireth. And when the peace was made, he prayeth boldly and familiarly to God, that he would be good to Sion and Jerusalem; and saith that then, last of all, when God hath forgiven us of mercy, and hath done us good for our evil, we shall offer sacrifice of thanks to him again: so that our deeds are but thanksgiving. When we have sinned, we go with a repenting heart unto Christ's blood, and there wash it off through faith. And our deeds are but thanksgiving to God, to help our neighbours at their need, for which our neighbours and each of them owe us as much again at our need. So that the testament, or forgiveness of sins, is built upon faith in Christ's blood, and not on works.

When we have offended God, we must return quickly by repentance, and call upon God to hear us for Christ our Saviour's sake.

Pœna, culpa. M. More will run to the pope for forgiveness, *a pœna et culpa*. By what merits doth the pope that? By Christ's. And Christ hath promised all his merits to them that repent and believe, and not given them unto the pope to sell. And in your absolutions ye oft absolve without enjoining of penance. 'He must have a purpose to do good works,' will ye say. That condition is set before him to do, out of the mercy that he hath received; and not to receive mercy out of them. But the popish cannot repent out of the heart; and therefore cannot feel the mercy that faith bringeth; and therefore cannot be merciful to their neighbours, to do their works for their sakes: but they feign them a sorrow for their sin, in which they ever continue; and so mourn for them in the morning, that they laugh in them ere mid-day again. And then they imagine them popish deeds, to make satisfaction to God, and make an idol of him.

As we have received at the hand of God mercy, so must we shew mercy to our neighbours.

Works of themselves justify not. W. T.

And finally, that good works, as to give alms and such like, justify not of themselves, is manifest. For as the good, which are taught of God, do them well, of very love to God and Christ, and of their neighbours for Christ's sake; even so the evil do them of vain glory and a false faith wickedly, as we have examples in the Pharisees; so that a man must be good, ere he can do good. And so is it of the purpose to do them: one's purpose is good, and another's evil; so that we

must be good ere a good purpose come. Now then, to love the law of God, and to consent thereto, and to have it written in thine heart, and to profess it, so that thou art ready of thine own accord to do it and without compulsion, is to be righteous: that I grant, and that love may be called righteousness before God, *passive;* and the life and quickness of the soul, *passive.* And so far forth as a man loveth the law of God, so far forth he is righteous; and so much as he lacketh of love toward his neighbour, after the ensample of Christ, so much he lacketh of righteousness. And that thing which maketh a man love the law of God, doth make a man righteous, and justifieth him effectively and actually; and maketh him alive, as a workman and cause efficient. Now what is it that maketh a man to love? Verily, not the deeds; for they follow and spring of love, if they be good: neither the preaching of the law; for that quickeneth not the heart (Gal. iii.), but causeth wrath (Rom. iv.) and uttereth sin only (Rom. iii.). And therefore saith Paul, that righteousness springeth not out of the deeds of the law into the heart, as the Jews and the pope mean; but contrary, the deeds of the law spring out of the righteousness of the heart, if they be good: as when a father pronounceth the law, that the child shall go to school; it saith, Nay: for that killeth his heart, and all his lusts; so that he hath no power to love it. But what maketh his heart alive to love it? Verily, fair promises of love and kindness, that it shall have a gentle school-master, and shall play enough, and shall have many gay things, and so forth. Even so the preaching of faith doth work love in our souls, and make them alive, and draw our hearts to God. The mercy that we have in Christ doth make us love only, and only bringeth the spirit of life into our souls.

He that loveth his neighbour for Christ's sake, the same is righteous.

Gal. iii.

Rom. iv.

Rom. iii.

All our works, if they proceed not of love, are nothing.

And therefore, saith Paul, "We be justified by faith, and by grace, without deeds:" that is, ere the deeds come. For faith only bringeth the spirit of life; and delivereth our souls from fear of damnation, which is in the law; and ever maketh peace between God and us, as oft as there is any variance between us. And finally, when the peace is made between God and us, and all forgiven through faith in Christ's blood, and we begin to love the law, we were never the nearer except faith went with us, to supply out the lack of full love; in that we have promises, that that little we have is taken a worth, and

Faith in Christ maketh our small works acceptable.

accepted till more come. And again, when our frailty hath overthrown us, and fear of damnation invaded our consciences, we were utterly lost, if faith were not by to help us up again; in that we are promised, that, whensoever we repent of evil, and come to the right way again, it shall be forgiven for Christ's sake. For when we be fallen, there is no testament[1] made in works to come, that they shall save us. And therefore the works of repentance, or of the sacraments, can never quiet our consciences, and deliver us from fear of damnation.

The righteous liveth by faith.

And last of all, in temptation, tribulation, and adversities, we perished daily, except faith went with us to deliver us; in that we have promises, that God will assist us, clothe us, feed us, and fight for us, and rid us out of the hands of our enemies. And thus the righteous liveth ever by faith, even "from faith to faith;" that is, as soon as he is delivered out of one temptation, another is set before him, to fight against, and to overcome through faith. The scripture saith, "Blessed is the man whose transgression is forgiven, and his sins hid; and unto whom the Lord reckoneth not unrighteousness." So that the only righteousness of him that can but sin, and hath nought of himself to make amends, is the forgiveness of sin; which faith only bringeth. And as far forth as we be unrighteous, faith only justifieth us actively; and else nothing, on our part. And as far forth as we have sinned, be in sin, or do sin, or shall sin, so far forth must faith in Christ's blood justify us only, and else nothing. To love is to be righteous, so far forth as thou lovest; but not to make righteous, nor to make peace. To believe in Christ's blood with a repenting heart is to make righteous, and the only making of peace and satisfaction to God-ward. And thus, because terms be darkened[2] to them that be not expert and exercised, we alway set out our meaning with clear ensamples, reporting ourselves unto the hearts and consciences of all men.

Faith in Christ's blood doth only justify us.

Matt. iii.

More:—"The blasphemous words of Luther seem to signify, that both John Baptist and our lady were sinners."

Tyndale:—John Baptist said to Christ, "I had need to be baptized of thee, and comest thou to me?" Whereof did John confess that he had need to be washed and purged by

[1 See Vol. I. p. 409.]

[2 So C. U. L. ed.; D. has *be dark*.]

Christ? of his holiness and good deeds? When John said, "Behold the Lamb of God that taketh away the sin of the world," he was not of that sort, nor had any sins to be taken away at any time, nor any part in Christ's blood, which died for sinners only! "John came to restore all thing," saith Christ: that is, he came to interpret the law of God truly, and to prove all flesh sinners, to send them to Christ; as Paul doth in the beginning of the Romans. Which law, if M. More could understand how spiritual it is, and what it requireth of us, he would not so dispute. And if there were no imperfectness in our lady's deeds, why did Christ rebuke her (John ii.), when he ought rather to have honoured his mother? and why did he make her seek him three days? Chrysostomus dared say that our lady was now and then taken with a little vain-glory[3]. She looked for the promises of him that should come and bless her; from what? She believed to be saved by Christ; from what? This I grant, that our lady, John Baptist, Isaac, Jacob, Joseph, Moses, and many like, did never consent to sin, to follow it; but had the Holy Ghost from the beginning. Neverthelater, while they followed the Spirit and wrought their best, yet chances met them by the way, and temptations, that made their works come sometimes unperfectly to pass; as a potter that hath his craft never so well, meeteth a chance now and then, that maketh him fashion a pot amiss. So that I think the perfectest of them all, as we have ensamples of some, were compelled to say with Paul, "That good that I would, I do not; and that evil that I would not, that I do." I would not swear on a book, that if our lady had been let slip as we other[4] were, and as hard apposed, with as present death before her eyes, that she would not have denied some things that she knew true. 'Yea; but she was preserved by grace, that she was not.' No; but though she were kept by grace from the outward deed, yet if there were such weakness[5] in her flesh, she had sin. And the grace was, that she knew it; and was meek to believe in Christ, to have it forgiven her, and to be

John Baptist and our lady also were sinners, and looked for the redemption in Christ.

John ii.

Chrysostom.

There was never any but Christ that was without sin.

[3 καὶ γὰρ ὅπερ ἐπεχείρησε φιλοτιμίας ἦν περιττῆς· ἐβούλετο ἐνδείξασθαι τῷ δήμῳ, ὅτι κρατεῖ καὶ αὐθεντεῖ τοῦ παιδός.—Chrysost. Oper. Tom. VII p. 467. Hom. xlv. in Matt. xii.]

[4 C. U. L. ed. woother.]

[5 So C. U. L., but D. has *wickedness*.]

preserved that it should not bud forth. John the evangelist, when he was as holy as ever was John the Baptist, said, "If we say we have no sin, we deceive ourselves."

1 John i.

Works are under the law.

Then he compareth faith and deeds together; and will that 'faith should stand in no better service, of right, than deeds.' Yes, for the deeds be examined by the law; and therefore it is not enough to do them only, or to do them with love: but I must do them with as great love as Christ did for me, and as I receive a good deed at my need. But faith is under no law; and therefore be she never so feeble, she shall receive according to the truth of the promiser.

Faith is under no law.

More:—"What thing could we ask God, of right, because we believe him?"

Tyndale:—Verily, all that he promiseth, may we be bold to ask of right, and duty, and by good obligation.

More:—"Ferman said, 'that all works be good enough in them that God hath chosen[1].'"

Tyndale:—I am sure it is untrue: for their best be not good enough; though God forgiveth them their evil, of his mercy, at the repentance of their hearts.

Then he endeth in his school-doctrine, contrary unto all the scripture, that 'God remitteth not the sin of his chosen people, because that he hath chosen them; nor of his mercy; but of a towardness that is more in one than in another, saying, 'God saw before that Peter should repent, and Judas would despair; and therefore chose Peter[2].' If God chose Peter

The blind and fond reasoning of More.

[1 More has not named Dr Ferman, as may be understood from Tyndale's own words, when commencing his notice of this chapter. But he has said of the person examined, "After many shifts he brought it plainly to this point at last, that he and his fellows, that were of Luther's sect, were firmly of this opinion, that they believed that God worketh all in every man, good works and bad. Howbeit no" [to] "such as he foreknoweth to be damned, no manner works be profitable to them; for God taketh them for naught, be they never so good. But on the other side, in those he hath chosen from the beginning and predestinate to glory, all works be good enough."—Works, Dial. p. 271.]

[2 More says, "God remitteth not the sins of his chosen people, nor forbeareth not to impute the blame thereof unto them, because they be his chosen people: for he accepteth not folk for their persons, but for their merits. God from the beginning, before the world was created, foreseeing in his divine prescience, or rather in the eternity of his Godhead presently beholding that Peter would

because he did repent, why chose he not Judas too, which repented as much as he, and knowledged his sin, and brought the money again? O this blindness, as [if] God had wrought nothing in the repentance of Peter! Said not Christ before, that Peter should fall? And said he not, that he had prayed for him that he should be holp up again? Christ prayed a strong prayer for Peter, to help him up again; and suffered a strong death thereto. And before his death he committed them unto his Father, saying, "I have kept them in thy name, and I depart; keep them now from evil." Peter had a good heart to God, and loved his law, and believed in Christ; and had the Spirit of God in him, which never left him for all his fall. Peter sinned of no malice, but of frailty and sudden fear of death. And the goodness of God wrought his repentance, and all the means by which he was brought up again, at Christ's request. And Judas was never good; nor came to Christ for love of his doctrine, but of covetousness; nor did ever believe in Christ.

Luke xxii.

John xvii.

The difference between Peter's fall, and the fall of Judas.

Judas was by nature and birth (as we all be) heir of the wrath of God; in whom the devil wrought his will, and blinded his heart with ignorance: in which ignorance and blindness he grew, as he grew in age, and fell deeper and deeper therein; and thereby wrought all his wickedness, and the devil's will, and perished therein. From which ignorance God purged Peter of his mercy, and gave him light, and his Spirit to govern him; and not of any towardness that was in Peter, of his own birth, but for the mercy that we have, in the birth of Christ's death.

Judas perished in desperation.

And how will M. More prove that God chooseth not of his goodness, but of our towardness? What good towardness can he have and endeavour, that is altogether blind, and carried away at the will of the devil, till the devil be cast out? Are we not robbed of all towardness in Adam; and be by nature made the children of sin, so that we sin naturally; and to sin is our nature? So that as now, though we would do well, the flesh yet sinneth naturally, neither ceaseth to sin, but so far forth as it is kept under with violence; even so once our

By Adam we are all made the children of the wrath of God.

repent and Judas would despair, and that the one would take hold of his grace, the other would reject it, accepted and chose the one and not the other; as he would have made the contrary choice, if he had foreseen in them the contrary chance."—Id. p. 272.]

hearts sinned as naturally, with full lust and consent unto the flesh, the devil possessing our hearts, and keeping out the light of grace. What good towardness and endeavour can we have to hate sin, as long as we love it? What good towardness can we have unto the will of God, while we hate it and be ignorant thereof? Can the will desire that the wit seeth not? Can the will long for, and sigh for, that the wit knoweth not of? Can a man take thought for that loss that he wotteth not of? What good endeavour can the Turks' children, the Jews' children, and the pope's infants have, when they be taught all falsehood only, with like persuasions of worldly reason, to be all justified with works? It is not therefore, as Paul saith, of the running or willing, but of the mercy of God, that a man is called and chosen to grace.

Rom. ix.

'The first grace, the first faith, and the first justifying is given us freely,' saith M. More: which I would fain wete how it will stand with his other doctrine; and whether he mean any other thing by choosing, than[1] to have God's Spirit given me, and faith to see the mercy that is laid up for me; and to have my sins forgiven, without all deserving and preparing of myself. God did not see only that the thief, that was saved at Christ's death, should come thither; but God chose him, to shew his mercy unto us that should after believe; and provided actually, and wrought for the bringing of him thither that day, to make him see and to receive the mercy that was laid up for him in store before the world was made.

God worketh by divers to make us to call upon and to trust in his mercy.

The Twelfth Chapter.

In the twelfth, in chafing himself, to heap lie upon lie, he uttereth his feelable blindness. For he asketh this question, 'Wherefore serveth exhortations unto faith, if the hearers have not liberty of their free-will, by which, together with God's grace, a man may labour to submit the rebellion of reason unto the obedience of faith and credence of the word of God?' Whereof ye see, that besides his grant, that reason rebelleth against faith, contrary to the doctrine of his first book, he will that the will shall compel the wit to believe:

Free-will.

[1] So C. U. L. ed., Day has *them*.]

which is as much to say as the cart must draw the horses, and the son beget the father; and the authority of the church is greater than God's word. For the will cannot teach the wit, nor lead her, but followeth naturally; so that whatsoever the wit judgeth good or evil, that the will loveth or hateth. If the wit see and lead straight, the will followeth: if the wit be blind and lead amiss, the will followeth clean out of the way. I cannot love God's word before I believe it; nor hate it, before I judge it false and vanity.

The wit leadeth the will. W. T.

He might have wiselier spoken on this manner: Wherefore serveth the preaching of faith, if the wit have no power to draw the will to love that which the wit judgeth true and good? If the will be naught, teach the wit better; and the will shall alter, and turn to good immediately. Blindness is the cause of all evil, and light the cause of all good; so that where the faith is right, there the heart cannot consent unto evil to follow the lusts of the flesh, as the pope's faith doth. And this conclusion hath he half a dozen times in his book, that the will may compel the wit and captivate it to believe what a man lusteth. Verily, it is like that his wits be in captivity, and for vantage tangled with our holy father's sophistry.

More's wits are captivated.

His doctrine is after his own feeling, and as the profession of his heart is. For the popish have yielded themselves to follow the lusts of their flesh; and compel their wit to abstain from looking on the truth, lest she should unquiet them, and draw them out of the puddle of their filthy voluptuousness, As a cart, that is overladen, going up a hill draweth the horses back, and in a tough mire maketh them stand still: and then the carter, the devil, which driveth them, is ever by and whistleth unto them, and biddeth them captivate their understanding unto profitable doctrine; for which they shall have no persecution, but shall reign, and be kings, and enjoy the pleasures of the world at their own will.

A pretty example.

The Thirteenth Chapter.

In the thirteenth he saith that the clergy burneth no man[2].

[2 The heading of More's thirteenth chapter is, "The author sheweth his opinion concerning the burning of heretics, and that it is lawful, necessary, and well done; and sheweth also that the clergy doth not procure it, but only the good and politic provision of the temporalty."—Works, Dial., p. 274.]

As though the pope had not first found[1] the law; and as though all his preachers babbled not that in every sermon, 'Burn these heretics, burn them, for we have no other argument to convince them;' and as though they compelled not both king and emperor to swear that they shall so do, ere they crown them!

King Henry V.

Then he bringeth in provisions of king Henry the fifth. Of whom I ask M. More, whether he were right heir unto England, or held he the land with the sword, as a heathen tyrant, against all right? Whom the prelates, lest he should have had leisure to hearken unto the truth, sent into France, to occupy his mind in war, and led him at their will. And I ask whether his father slew not his liege king and true inheritor unto the crown; and was therefore set up of the bishops, a false king, to maintain their falsehood? And I ask whether, after that wicked deed, followed not the destruction of the commonalty, and quenching of all noble blood?

King Henry IV. was an usurper of the crown.

The Fourteenth Chapter.

The Turk is to be resisted.

In the fourteenth, he affirmeth that "Martin Luther saith it is not lawful to resist the Turk[2]." I wonder that he shameth not so to lie, seeing that Martin hath written a singular treatise for the contrary; besides that in many other works he proveth it lawful, if he invade us.

The Sixteenth Chapter[3].

In the sixteenth he allegeth councils. I ask whether councils have authority to make articles of the faith without God's word; yea, and of things improved by God's word?

He allegeth Augustine, Hierome, and Cyprian. Let him put their works in English, and St Prosperus with them[4].

[1 Invented.]

[2 "In this opinion is Luther and his followers, which among other heresies hold for a plain conclusion, that it is not lawful to any christian man to fight against the Turk, or to make against him any resistances, though he come into Christendom with a great army, and labour to destroy all."—Works, Dial., p. 277.]

[3 Tyndale has not made any remarks on More's fifteenth chapter, the title of which is, "That princes be bounden to punish heretics, and that fair handling helpeth little with many of them."]

[4 See Vol. I. p. 487, n. 2.]

Why damned they 'The union of doctors,' but because the doctors are against them[5]? The union of doctors, a good book.

And when he allegeth martyrs, let him shew one; and take the calf for his labour.

And in the end he biddeth beware of them that live well in any wise: as though they which live evil cannot teach amiss; and if that be true, then they be of the surest side.

The Seventeenth Chapter.

More:—"When Tyndale was apposed of his doctrine, ere he went over sea, he said and sware he meant no harm[6]."

Tyndale:—He sware not; neither was there any man that required an oath of him: but he now sweareth, by him whom he trusteth to be saved by, that he never meant or yet meaneth any other harm than to suffer all that God hath prepared to be laid on his back, for to bring his brethren unto the light of our Saviour Jesus; which the pope, through falsehood and corrupting such poets as ye are (ready unto all thing for vantage), leadeth in the darkness of death. Tyndale sweareth.

More:—"Tyndale doth know how that St Augustine and St Hierome do prove with holy scripture, that confession is of necessity unto salvation[7]."

Tyndale:—That is false, if ye mean ear-confession. Why allege ye not the places where? But ye know by St Hierome and other stories, and by the conversation with Erasmus, how it came up; and that the use was once far other than now[8]. Ear-confession.

[5 See p. 189]

[6 "Look on Tyndale that translated the new Testament, which was indeed, as ye said in the beginning, before his going over, taken for a man of sober and honest living, and looked and preached holily, saving that yet sometime he savoured so shrewdly that he was once or twice examined thereof. But yet because he glosed these his words with a better sense, and said and swore that he meant no harm, folk were glad to take all to the best. But yet ye see that though he dissembled himself to be a Lutheran, or to bear any favour to his sect, while he was here, yet as soon as he gat him hence, he gat him to Luther straight."—Works, Dial., p. 283.]

[7 "Himself well knoweth that they (St Austin and St Hierome and such other) do all with one voice prove that shrift and confession is of necessity requisite to our salvation."—Id. ibid.]

[8 In an epistle of Jerome to Oceanus, entitled Epitaphium Fa-

Purgatory.

More:—"I marvel that Tyndale denieth purgatory, except he intend to go to hell[1]."

Tyndale:—He intendeth to purge here, unto the uttermost of his power; and hopeth that death will end and finish his purgation. And if there be any other purging, he will commit it to God, and take it as he findeth it, when he cometh at it; and in the meantime take no thought therefore, but for this that is present, wherewith all saints were purged, and were taught so to be. And Tyndale marvelleth what secret pills they take to purge themselves, which not only will not purge here with the cross of Christ, but also buy out their purgatory there of the pope, for a groat or sixpence.

The Eighteenth Chapter.

Clergy.

More:—"The clergy doth nothing unto the heretics, but as the holy doctors did."

Tyndale:—Yes; ye put them in your prisons, and diet them, and handle them after your fashion as temporal tyrants, and dispute with them secretly, and will not come at light. And ye slay them for rebuking you with God's word: and so

Note.

did not the old holy doctors. If a man slay his father, ye care not: but if any man touch one of you, though he have never so great an occasion given him, ye curse him; and if he will not submit himself unto your punishment, ye leave him unto the temporal power, whom ye have hired with the spoil

biolæ, he gives an inflated account of a Roman lady, Fabiola, who did not hesitate to make very public acknowledgment of her sins, and to exhibit the marks of the punishment which she had inflicted on herself; but he says nothing about confession to a priest, nor of her being enjoined such penance. Upon this Erasmus remarks: Apparet Hieronymi tempore nondum institutam fuisse secretam admissorum confessionem, quam postea ecclesia salubriter instituit, si modo recte utantur ea et sacerdotes et laici. Verum in hoc labuntur theologi quidam parum attenti, quod quæ veteres illi scribunt de hujusmodi publica et generali confessione, quæ nihil aliud erat quam signis quibusdam et piaminibus ab episcopo indictis se peccatorem et bonorum communione indignum agnoscere, trahunt ad hanc occultam et longe diversi generis.—D. Hieron. Op. Omn. Basileæ, 1537. Tom. I. p. 201.]

[1 "All they with one voice teach and prove by scripture too that there is the fire of purgatory; which I marvel why Tyndale feareth so little, but if he be at a plain point with himself to go straight to hell."—More, ibid.]

of his goods to be your hangman; so that he must lose his life for giving one of you but a blow on the cheek.

More:—"St Paul gave two heretics unto the devil, which tormented their flesh, which was no small punishment; and haply he slew them."

Tyndale:—O expounder of the scripture! like Hugo Charensis, which expoundeth *hæreticum hominem devita*, 'Take the heretic out of his life[2].' We read of no pain that he had, whom the Corinthians excommunicated, and gave to Satan, to slay his flesh; save that he was ashamed of himself and repented, when he saw his offence so earnestly taken, and so abhorred. But ye, because ye have no power to deliver them to Satan, to blind their minds, ye deliver them to the fire to destroy their flesh, that no more is seen of them after than the ashes.

Tit. iii. 10.

Paul did excommunicate, but our bishops do burn.

[2 Properly, *Avoid an heretical man*. Hugo de Sancto Caro, or Hugh de St Cher, a cardinal of the Dominican order, died 1263. His principal works were Speculum Ecclesiæ, and Postilla, or a continuous comment on the whole of the scriptures. This exposition of the text in Titus is not found in the Venice edition of his works in 1600, nor that of Cologne in 1621: but that the temper of this popular theologian towards heretics corresponds with what Tyndale has ascribed to him, appears from his Postil. on Luke i. 20, or the angel's salutation; on which he writes thus: Nota; non sunt digni salutari a nobis excommunicatus, homo alterius legis, hostis. Judæi non sunt occidendi, sed fame et miseria cruciandi. Hæretici vero sunt comburendi igne, quia Spiritui Sancto committendum est, ut revelet in talibus utrum spiritus sint a Deo. Tom. VI. fol. 132, col. 1. Venice, 1600. The exposition attributed to him by Tyndale is introduced as a jest into the *Moriæ encomium* by Erasmus, p. 495. Lugduni, 1704.]

THE

SUPPER OF THE LORD.

[Title of Original Edition.]

The Souper
of the Lorde.
Wher unto, that thou mayst be the better prepared and berlyer instructed: habe here firste the declaracion of the later parte of the 6 ca. of S. Johā, beginninge at the letter C the fowerth lyne before the crosse[1], at these wordis: Verely, vere. &c. wheryn incidently M. More's letter agenst Johan Frythe is confuted.

[Title of edition in the Archbishop's Library, Lambeth.]

The Supper of
The Lorde.
After the true meanyng of the sixte of John, and the xi of the fyrst eppstle to the Corynthians; whereunto is added an Eppstle to the reader. And incidently in the exposicion of the supper is confuted the letter of Master More agaynst Jhon Fryth.

1 Corhinth. xi.

Whosoeber shall eat of this bread and drinke of this cuppe of the Lord unworthely, shall be gyltye of the body and bloud of the Lorde.

Anno MCCCCC XXX III.
V day of Apryll.

[1 Crosses were inserted into the text, to mark the portions to be read in public service; and were therefore fixed. Marginal letters were used to facilitate reference previous to the division of the new testament into what are styled verses. Tyndale had not employed either in the first edition of his version.]

THE SUPPER OF THE LORD.

[INTRODUCTORY NOTICE.

The first edition of the following treatise affords no intimation of its author's name; but its final colophon states that it was "Imprinted at Nornburg[1], by Niclas Twonson, 5 April. An. 1533.[2]" Only a few months after this date Sir Thomas More had penned what he styles an "Answer to the first part of a poisoned book which a nameless heretic hath named 'The Supper of the Lord.'" At his first onset More writes as follows: "There is come over another book against the blessed sacrament, a book of that sort that Fryth's book the brethren may now forbear. For more blasphemous and more bedlam-ripe than this book is were that book hard to be, which is yet mad enough, as men say that have seen it.—The man hath not set his name unto his book; nor whose it is I cannot surely say. But some reckon it to be made of William Tyndale, for that in a pystle of his unto Fryth he writeth, that in any thing he can do, he would not fail to help him forth. Howbeit some of the brethren report that the work was made by George Jay; and of truth Tyndale wrote unto Fryth, that George Jay had made a book against the sacrament, which was as yet, partly by his means, partly for lack of money, retained and kept from the print[3].—The maker of the book in the end of his book, for one cause why he putteth not his name thereto, writeth in this wise: *Master Mocke, whom the verity most offendeth, and doth but mocke it out, when he cannot soil it, he knoweth me well enough.* This sad and sage earnest man that, mocking at my name, calleth me Master Mocke[4], doth in these wise words but mocke the readers of his book. What if I wist never so well who he were that wrote it, what were this to the brethren that read it? Now for myself also, though I know Tyndale by name, and George Jay or Joy by name also, and twenty such other fond fellows of the same sect more; yet if ten of those would make ten such foolish treatises, and set their names to none, could I know thereby which of those mad fools made which foolish book[5]?"

Notwithstanding this language, More takes for granted throughout all the rest of his answer, that the writer to whom he is replying is none other than Tyndale. And yet Foxe, when editing Tyndale's Works for Day, forty years later, at the close of his 456th page, which immediately precedes the introduction of this treatise, has inserted

[1 Understood to mean Nuremburg.]

[2 So stated in Herbert's Ames, III. p. 1541; and confirmed by a recently discovered copy, now deposited in the Bodleian Library.]

[3 See Biographical Notice of Tyndale, pp. liii—iv.]

[4 The sentence just cited will be found in the last half page of this treatise. The present editor has not been able to discover the existence of any edition subsequent to the first, in which *Mocke* has not been altered into *More*.]

[5 More's Works, Vol. II. pp. 1036—7.]

this colophon: 'The end of all M. William Tyndale's Works, newly imprinted, according to his first copies, which he himself set forth.' But he then adds, 'Here followeth a short and pithy treatise touching the Lord's Supper, compiled, as some do gather, by M. W. Tyndale, because the method and phrase agree with his, and the time of writing are concurrent; which for thy further instruction and learning, gentle reader, I have annexed to his works, lest the church of God should want any of the painful travails of godly men, whose only care and endeavour was to advance the glory of God, and to further the salvation of Christ's flock committed to their charge.' When Foxe penned this last sentence, he had before him that same letter from Tyndale to Frith, of which, notwithstanding Tyndale's caution[6], Sir Thomas More must soon have obtained a copy, if the oppressed prisoner had not been obliged to surrender the original to his enemies. And the martyrologist might reasonably doubt whether Tyndale would have composed and published such a treatise as the following within a few weeks after his advising Frith to meddle as little as possible with the question of the presence of Christ's body in the sacrament, and saying to him, 'I would have the right use preached, and the presence to be an indifferent thing, till the matter might be reasoned in peace at leisure of both parties.'

But Frith has told us, that after his arrival in England he had so far yielded to the request of a christian brother, 'who might better be a bishop than many that wear mitres,' as 'to touch this terrible tragedy,' and write a treatise, in which, says he, 'I declared that Christ had a natural body, and that it could no more be in two places at once than mine can. I wrote it not to the intent that it should have been published; but now it is comen abroad.' He adds that Sir Thomas More had 'sore laboured to confute it,' but had scarcely printed his letter intended to do this, before he so changed his mind as to endeavour to suppress his reply, of which Frith could in consequence only obtain a written copy; though he had seen it in print in bishop Gardiner's house, when he was brought before that prelate on the 26th of Dec., 1532.[7] We have seen Sir Thomas More insinuating, though he does not affirm, that all he knew of Frith's work on the sacrament was from what others said of it; but when he had proceeded farther in his lengthy answer to the 'nameless heretic,' he seems to have forgotten this, and fully confirms Frith's statement. He there says, 'Whereas I, a year now past and more, wrote and put in print a letter against the pestilent treatise of John Fryth, which he then had made and secretly sent abroad among the brethren, against the blessed sacrament of the altar; which letter of mine, as I have declared in mine apology, *and*[8] natheless caused to

[6 Biogr. Notice, p. liii.]

[7 Frith's Preface to his Answer to More's letter. Day's ed. of Frith, &c. p. 107.]

[8 Probably a misprint for *I*.]

be kept still, and would not suffer it to be put abroad into every man's hands, because Fryth's treatise was not yet at that time in print; yet now, sith I see they are come over in print, not only Fryth's book, but over that this masker's also, and that either of their both books maketh mention, &c.'

The dates and circumstances, thus incidentally given, are sufficient to shew that Frith had unintentionally committed himself on this perilous subject, before he could have received Tyndale's warning; whilst Tyndale was not likely to be much behind More in learning what his friend had written, nor much behind the poor prisoner in learning what More had committed to the press. Indeed, in telling us that after Frith's treatise had got into some circulation through manuscript copies, it had been sent to the continent to be printed, and speaking of the arrival of printed copies in England in a way which seems to imply that their arrival and that of copies of the following treatise were contemporary, More has made it not improbable that Tyndale may have been carrying Frith's work through the press, at the same time that he was composing its author's defence. At any rate Tyndale would know, soon enough for his writing this treatise, that Frith's hostility to the doctrine from which the dominant church mainly drew its wealth, had come to the knowledge of those who would therefore seek his life; and that now was the time for keeping his own promise, of doing his best to aid his beloved friend, by proving that what Frith was called a heretic for teaching was in strict accordance with the language of the scriptures; whilst by writing anonymously he might intend to avoid giving Frith's judges any legal ground for convicting him of being engaged in the same conspiracy against their church with one whose works had been authoritatively proscribed as heretical.

On the other hand, however, the assertion of Foxe, 'that the method and phrase' of the following treatise 'agree with Tyndale's,' cannot be admitted without a remarkable exception; inasmuch as it does not contain a single specimen of those references to the original languages of the inspired volume which Tyndale well knew how to employ, and which his acquaintance with Hebrew led him to employ largely and with considerable effect in his later avowed treatise on the sacraments[1]. Was it to fill up that deficiency, as he might esteem it to be, in this first simple exposition of the Lord's supper, that he composed a second, when the close of his labours was obviously at hand? If such was not his motive, the fact of his employing himself at that time in writing the treatise on baptism and the Lord's supper, contained in our first volume, must be confessed to weigh heavily against the presumptive evidence on which the authorship of this earlier written treatise has been assigned to him. And this difficulty will be somewhat increased by the circumstance, that Robert Crowley, in his preface to the edition of 1551, while he speaks of "the author

[1 See Vol. I. pp. 347—57, and 376—8.]

of this little book" as one wrongfully "detested and abhorred as an heretic," makes no mention of his having suffered death under that charge.

The present editor has collated Day's folio reprint of 1573 with the Lambeth copy of Crowley's edition for the text of the treatise; whilst he has to thank the Rev. Alfred Hackman for supplying him with the result of a careful collation of the original Nornburg edition[2].

[[2] Such marginal notes as exist in that edition will be marked *Auth.*, as being the only notes for which its author should be deemed responsible. The references to that edition will be marked *B*; whilst those to the Lambeth copy of Crowley's edition will be marked *L.*]

When Christ saw those gluttons, seeking their bellies, flocking so fast unto him, after his wonted manner (the occasion taken, to teach and preach unto them, of the things now moved) he said, "Verily, verily, I say unto you, ye seek me not because ye have seen my miracles, but because ye have eaten of the loaves and were well filled." 'But as for me, I am not come into this world only to fill men's bellies, but to feed and satisfy their souls. Ye take great pains to follow me for the meat of your bellies; but, O sluggards, work, take pains, and labour rather to get that meat that shall never perish. For this meat that ye have sought of me hitherto, perisheth with your bellies; but the meat that I shall give you, is spiritual, and may not perish, but abideth for ever, giving life everlasting. For my Father hath consigned and confirmed me, with his assured testimony, to be that assured saving health and earnest-penny of everlasting life.' When the Jews understood not what Christ meant, bidding them to "work and labour for that meat that should never perish," they asked him, "What shall we do, that we might work the works of God?"—supposing that he had spoken of some outward work required of them. Wherefore Jesus answered, saying, "Even this is the work of God, to believe and trust in him whom the Father hath sent." Lo, here may ye see that work of God which he requireth of us, even to believe in Christ. Also consider again what this meat is, which he bade them here prepare and seek for, saying, 'Work, take pains, and seek for that meat, &c.' and thou shalt see it none other meat than the belief in Christ: wherefore he concludeth, that this meat so often mentioned, is faith; of the which meat (saith the prophet) the just liveth. Faith in him is therefore the meat which Christ prepareth and dresseth so purely; pouldering[1] and spicing it with spiritual allegories in all this chapter following, to give us everlasting life through it.

John vi.

The Jews were blind and ignorant, and understood not the words of Christ. Auth.

The true work that is acceptable before God.

Habak. ii.

Then said the Jews unto him, 'What token doest thou, whereby we might know that we should believe in thee?

The Jews desire a sign or token whereby

[1 Pouldering: powdering.]

Do somewhat that we might believe in thee. What thing workest thou that we might know thee to be God? Thou knowest well enough that our fathers did eat bread or manna in the desert, as it is written, He gave them bread from above.' Jesus answered, 'Verily, verily, I say unto you, Moses gave ye not that bread from heaven; for though it fell down from the air, yet was it not heavenly food, for it did but feed the belly: but this bread of God that is descended from heaven, whom my Father giveth, refresheth the soul so abundantly, that it giveth life unto the world.' When the Jews understood not this saying, which was nought else than the declaring of the gospel (for by the eating of this bread he meant that belief of this his gospel,) they said, "Sir, give us this bread evermore." Jesus said unto them, "I am the bread of life; and whoso come to me shall not hunger, and whoso believe in me shall never thirst." When the Jews heard Christ say, the bread that descended from heaven should give life to the world; they desired to have this bread given them for ever. And Jesus perceiving that they understood not the sense of this gospel, he expounded unto them who was this so lively bread that giveth life to all the world, saying, "I am the bread of life, and whoso cometh to me," that is to say, whoso is grafted and joined to me by faith, "shall never hunger;" that is, 'whoso believeth in me is satisfied.' It is faith, therefore, that stauncheth this hunger and thirst of the soul. Faith it is, therefore, in Christ that filleth our hungry hearts, so that we can desire none other, if we once eat and drink him by faith; that is to say, if we believe his flesh and body to have been broken, and his blood shed, for our sins. For then are our souls satisfied, and we be justified.

they might believe that he was Christ.

Christ required of the Jews to have faith and trust in him.

Christ explaineth and sheweth himself to the Jews.

Faith only apprehendeth Christ and all his benefits. More's Answer. B. ii. ch. iii. p. 1079.

Over this it followeth: 'But I have told you this, because ye look upon me, and believe me not; that is, ye be offended that I said, He that cometh to me shall neither hunger nor thirst, seeing that yourselves, being present, be yet both hungry and thirsty. But this cometh because ye have seen me with your bodily eyes, and yet see me, and believe not in me: but I speak not of such sight nor coming, but of the sight of faith, which whoso hath, he shall[2] none other desire; he shall not seek by night to love another, before whom he

Christ rebuketh the incredulity and lack of faith in the Jews.

[2 So B., but in D. shall *have* none.]

M. p. 1080.

would lay his grief. He shall not run wandering here and there, to seek dead stocks and stones: for he is certified by his faith to whom he shall cleave; he is coupled by faith unto me, his very spouse and lively food, the only treasure of his soul, never more to thirst for any other. This light of faith ye have not, for ye believe not nor trust in me: wherefore ye understand not how I am the very bread and meat of your souls, that is to say, your faith and hope. And the cause of this your blindness is, (I will not say over hardly to you,) that the Father hath not drawn you into the knowledge of me, or else ye had received me: for all that the Father giveth me, must come unto me. And as for me, I cast out no man that cometh to me; for I am not come down from heaven to do my will, which ye attribute unto me as unto another[1] man; for I am verily a very man, and according to that nature, I have a special proper will; but much more obedient to my Father than one of you. For your will oft resisteth and repugneth God's will; but so doth mine never. I am therefore come down to do his will that hath sent me, and to do you to wit what his will is. This (I say) is my Father's will, that hath sent me, that of all that he hath given me I lose none; but must raise him up again in the last day. And, to be plain, this is his will that sent me, that whoso seeth, that is, knoweth the Son, and believeth in him, he shall have life everlasting, and I shall stir him up in the last day.' Here may ye see what meat he speaketh of. God sent his Son into this world, that we might live through him. Who liveth by him? They that eat his flesh and drink his blood. Who eat his flesh and drink his blood? They that believe his body crucified and his blood shed for their sins: these cleave unto his gracious favour. But how could they cleave thus unto him, except they knew him? And therefore he added, saying, "Every man that seeth the Son," that is to say, understandeth wherefore the Son was sent into this world, "and believeth in him, shall have everlasting life."

All that the Father draw come unto Christ. Auth.

Christ came from heaven into earth to fulfil the will his Father.

He that believeth Christ's death to be for the remission of his sins, the same eateth the flesh and drinketh the blood of Christ.

The cause of the Jews' murmur. Auth.

Here it appeared to the carnal Jews, that Christ had taken too much upon himself, to say, "I am the bread of life, which am come down from heaven to give life to the world:" wherefore the flesh, that is to say[2] the Jews, now murmured,

[1 So L. but D. has *each any other*.]

[2 So B., but D. that is to know.]

(and not *marvelled*, as M. More sheweth his own dream to another text following, which I shall touch anon); they murmured at this saying of Christ, "I am the bread which am come from heaven," saying, "Is not this Jesus, Joseph's son, whose father and mother we know well enough? How then saith he, I am come from heaven?" Jesus answered, saying, "Murmur not among yourselves:" heard ye not what I told you even now? "All that my Father giveth me come to me:" your unbelief (whereof followeth this false understanding of my words spiritually spoken) compelleth me to tell you one thing more than once or twice. This therefore it is: "No man may come to me," the only earnest-penny and pledge of your salvation, "unless my Father that sent me draw him;" and whom he draweth unto me, that is, joineth unto me by faith, "him shall I stir up in the last day." I wonder ye take my words so strangely, believing them to be some hard riddles, or dark parables; when I say nothing else than that is written in your own prophets, both in Isaiah and Jeremiah, saying, that "All shall be taught of the Lord." Since even your prophets testify this knowledge to be given you of my Father, what can be spoken more plainly than to say, "What my Father giveth me, that cometh to me;" or this, "No man may come to me, except my Father draw him?" And yet have it more manifestly: Whoso hath heard my Father, and is learned of him, he cometh to me as unto the very only anchor of his salvation. "Not that any man hath seen the Father:" lest peradventure ye mistake these words to hear and to learn, as though they pertained to the outward senses, and not rather to the mind and inward illumining of the soul. For no man ever saw the Father, although he work secretly upon his heart, so that whatsoever he willeth, we must hear and learn. No man (I say) seeth him, but he that is sent of God, as I said before of myself, he it is that seeth the Father. Now therefore say I unto you, "Verily, verily," (as plainly plainly[3],) that "whoso believeth and trusteth in me, he hath life everlasting." Now have ye the sum of this my doctrine, even my very gospel, the whole tale of all my legacy and message, wherefore I am sent into the world.' Had M. More understood this short sentence, "Whoso believeth in me hath life everlasting," and known what Paul with the other apostles preached, especially

Christ reproveth the murmuring of the Jews.

Isai. liv. Jer. xxxi.

John vi.

All that believe and hope in Christ have everlasting life. Auth.

[3 So B. and L. In D. *plainly* occurs but once.]

M. More had not the understanding of the scriptures. Auth. 1 Cor. ii.

Paul, being a year and a half among the Corinthians, determining not neither presuming to have known any other thing to be preached them (as himself saith) than Jesus Christ, and that he was crucified; had M. More understood this point, he should never have thus blasphemed Christ and his sufficient scriptures, neither have so belied his evangelists and holy apostles, as to say, 'They wrote not all things necessary for our salvation, but left out things of necessity to be believed[1],' making God's holy testament insufficient and imperfect; first revealed unto our fathers, written oft since[2] by Moses, and then by his prophets, and at last written both by his holy evangelists and apostles too.

M. 1082.

More is a mocker.

But turn we to John again, and let More mock still, and lie too. "I am the bread of life," saith Christ. And no man denieth that our fathers and elders "did eat manna in the desert, and yet are they dead. But he that eateth of this bread," that is to say, believeth in me, he "hath life everlasting. For it is I that am this lively bread, which am come down from heaven, of whom whoso eat by faith shall never die." Here therefore it is to be noted diligently, that Christ meaneth, as every man may see, by the eating of this bread, none other thing than the belief in himself offered up for our sins, which faith only justifieth us: which sentence to declare more plainly, and that he would have it noted more diligently, he repeateth it yet again, saying, "It is I that am the lively bread which am come down from heaven; whoso eateth of this bread shall live everlastingly." And to put you clear out of doubt, I shall shew you in few words what this matter is, and by what ways I must be the Saviour and Redeemer of the world, to give it this life so often rehearsed; and therefore now take good heed. This bread which I speak of so much, and shall give it you, it is "mine own flesh, which I must lay

The eating of the bread of Christ is only to believe in Christ's death.

How the bread signi-

[1 In sir T. More's 'Confutacion,' published the year before this Treatise on the Supper, above sixty pages are devoted to the question, 'Whether the Apostles left aught unwritten, that is of necessity to be believed;' and More concludes one of his arguments by affirming a notion, collected from legends, to be 'so sure a point of Christian faith,' that 'the contrary has ever been condemned for a heresy;' and therefore, says he, 'I may and do, against Tyndale and his fellows, well and fully conclude that there is something necessary to be believed, that yet is not written in scripture.' Works, p. 488, col. 1.]

[2 More quotes this passage, p. 1082. col. 2; where he has *eſte sones.*]

forth and pay for the life of the world." Here is it now manifest that he should suffer death in his own flesh, for our redemption, to give us this life everlasting. Thus now may ye see how Christ's flesh, which he called bread, is the spiritual food and meat of our souls when our souls by faith see God the Father not to have spared his only so dear beloved Son, but to have delivered him to suffer that ignominious and so painful death, to restore us to life: then have we eaten his flesh, and drunk his blood, assured firmly of the favour of God, satisfied and certified of our salvation.

fieth and sheweth Christ's flesh.

Christ's flesh is the spiritual food of our souls.

After this communication that he said, "The bread which I shall give you is my flesh, which I shall pay for the life of the world;" yet were the carnal Jews never the wiser. For their unbelief and sturdy hatred would not suffer the very spiritual sense and mind of Christ's words to enter into their hearts. They could not see that Christ's flesh, broken and crucified, and not bodily eaten, should be our salvation and this spiritual meat; as our souls be fed and certified of the mercy of God and forgiveness of our sins through his passion, and not for any eating of his flesh with our teeth. The more ignorant, therefore, and fleshly they were, the more fierce were they, full of indignation, striving one against another, saying, "How may this fellow give us his flesh to eat it?" They stuck fast yet in his flesh before their eyes, these fleshly Jews: wherefore no marvel though they abhorred the bodily eating thereof; although our fleshly papists (being of the Jews' carnal opinion) yet abhor it not, neither cease they daily to crucify and offer him up again, which was once for ever and all offered, as Paul testifieth. And even here, since Christ came to teach, to take away all doubt and to break strife, he might (his words otherwise declared, than he hath declared[3], and will hereafter expound them,) have solved their question, saying, (if he had so meant as More meaneth,) that he would have been conveyed and converted (as our jugglers slightly can convey him with a few words) into a singing loaf; or else (as the Thomistical[4] papists say) been invisible with

The obstinate and wilful blindness of the Jews.

The malice of the Jews toward our Saviour Christ.

The carnal papists cease not still to offer him. Heb. x.

M. 1092.

[3 So B., but D. omits *declared*.]

[4 He calls them Thomistical to indicate that they took their faith on these subjects, from Thomas Aquinas, whose statement of the matter will be found in his Opusc. lix. De Sacram. Eucharist. cap. 2. Opusc. p. 405, col. I. and II.]

Thomists be the school-doctors. Auth.

all his dimensioned body under the form of bread transubstantiated into it: and after a like Thomistical mystery, the wine transubstantiated too into his blood, so that they should eat his flesh and drink his blood after their own carnal understanding, but yet in another form, to put away all grudge of stomach: or, since St John (if he had thus[1] understood his master's mind, and took upon him to write his words,) would leave this sermon unto the world to be read, he might now have delivered us and them from this doubt. But Christ would not so satisfy their question, but answered, "Verily, verily, I say unto you, except ye eat the flesh of the Son of man, and drink his blood, ye shall not have that life in yourselves. He that eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood hath life everlasting, and I shall stir him up in the last day; for my flesh is very meat and my blood the very drink." He saith not here that bread shall be transubstantiated, or converted, into his body; nor yet the wine into his blood.

M. p. 1092.

Christ, in saying that his flesh is very meat, doth not say that bread shall be transubstantiated into his flesh.

But now confer this saying to his purpose at the beginning, where he bade them work for that meat that should never perish, telling them that to believe in him whom God hath sent was the work of God; and whoso believeth in him, should never thirst nor hunger, but have life everlasting. Confer also this that followeth, and thou shalt see it plain, that his words be understood spiritually of the belief in his flesh crucified, and his blood shed; for which belief we be promised everlasting life, himself saying, "Whoso believeth in me hath life everlasting." Here, therefore, their question, "How may this man give us his flesh to eat it?"—is solved; even when he gave his body to be broken, and his blood to be shed. And we eat and drink it indeed, when we believe stedfastly that he died for the remission of our sins: Austin and Tertullian to witness[2].

Christ's words are spiritual, and not carnal.

[1 So in B., and More's quotation, p. 1092, col. 1. D. and L. want *thus*.]

[2 *Hoc est opus Dei, ut credatis in eum quem misit ille.* Hoc est, ergo, manducare *cibum, non qui perit, sed qui permanet in vitam æternam.* Ut quid pares dentes et ventrem? Crede et manducasti.... Dixit se panem qui de cœlo descendit, hortans ut credamus in eum. Credere enim in eum, hoc est manducare panem vivum.—August. Op. Paris. 1769, &c. Tom. III. pars 2, col. 489, *c.* 494, *d.*—In Evang. Joan. cap. VI.—Quia durum et intolerabilem existimaverunt sermonem ejus, quasi vere carnem suam illis edendum determinasset, ut in spiritu disponeret

But here maketh More his argument against the young man[3]. 'Because the Jews marvelled at this saying, My flesh is very meat, and my blood drink; and not at this, I am the door, and the very vine; therefore this text, (saith he) "My flesh is," &c. must be understood after the literal sense;' that is to wit, even as the carnal Jews understood it, murmuring at it, being offended, going their ways from Christ, for their so carnal understanding thereof: and the other texts, "I am the door," &c. must be understood in an allegorical and spiritual sense, because his hearers marvelled nothing at the manner of the speech. Lo, christian reader! here hast thou not a taste, but a great tun full, of More's mischief and pernicious perverting of God's holy word; and as thou seest him here falsely and pestilently destroy the pure sense in God's word, so doth he in all other places of his books. First, where he saith they marvelled at this Christ's saying, "My flesh is very meat," &c. that is not so, neither is there any such word in the text; except More will expound *Murmurabant, id est, mirabantur,* 'They murmured, that is to say, they marvelled;' as he expoundeth, *Oportet, id est, expedit et convenit,* 'He must die, or it behoveth him to die; that is to say, it was expedient and of good congruence that he should die,' &c. Thus this poet may make a man to signify an ass, and black white; to blear the simple eyes. But yet, for his lordly pleasure, let us grant him that *they murmured* is as much to say as *they marvelled;* because perchance the one may follow at the other. And then do I ask him, whether Christ's disciples and his apostles heard him not, and understood him not, when he said, "I am the door and the vine," and when he said, "My flesh," &c. If he say no, or nay; the scripture is plain against him. If he say yea, or yes[4]; then yet do I ask him, whether his disciples and apostles, thus hearing and under-

More declareth his ignorance, and wilful blindness. M. p. 1101.

More reporteth the scriptures untruly.

More's first reason is confuted. Auth.

John vi. x. xv.

statum salutis, præmisit, *Spiritus est qui vivificat.* Atque ita subjunxit, *Caro nihil prodest,* ad vivificandum scilicet. Exequitur etiam quid velit intelligi spiritum .... Itaque sermonem constituens vivificatorem, quia spiritus et vita sermo, eundem etiam carnem suam dixit; quia et *sermo caro erat factus,* proinde in causam vitæ appetendus, et devorandus auditu, et ruminandus intellectu, et fide digerendus.—Tertull. Opp. Lib. de Res. Carn. cap. 37. p. 332. Ed. Pamel. Franekeræ. 1597.]

[3 John Frith.]

[4 Alluding to More's critical remarks on the distinction between no and nay, &c. See note to p. 25.]

standing his words, in all these three chapters, wondered and marvelled, (as More saith,) or murmured, (as hath the text,) at their master's speech. What think ye More must answer here? Here may ye see whither this old holy upholder of the pope's church is brought; even to be taken in his own trap. For the disciples, and his apostles, neither murmured, nor marvelled, nor yet were offended with this their master Christ's words, and manner of speech: for they were well acquainted with such phrases; and answered their master Christ, when he asked them, "Will ye too go hence from me?" "Lord," said they, "to whom shall we go? Thou hast the words of everlasting life; and we believe that thou art Christ, the Son of the living God." Lo! M. More, they neither marvelled nor murmured. And why? For because, as ye say, they understood it in an allegory sense; and perceived well that he meant not of his material body to be eaten with their teeth; but he meant it of himself, to be believed to be very God and very man, having flesh and blood as they had, and yet was he the Son of the living God. This belief gathered they of all his spiritual sayings; as himself expounded his own words, saying, "My flesh profiteth nothing," meaning to be eaten; "but it is the Spirit that giveth this life. And the words that I speak unto you are spirit and life;" so that whoso believeth my flesh to be crucified and broken, and my blood to be shed for his sins, he eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood, and hath life everlasting. And this is the life wherewith the righteous live, even by faith.

Christ's disciples murmured not at his saying.

Christ's words were in all things to be spiritually understood.

Habak. ii.

The second argument of More.

After this text thus wisely proved to be understood in the literal sense, with the carnal Jews, and not in the allegoric or spiritual sense with Christ and his apostles; the whole sum of More's confutation of the young man standeth upon this argument, A posse ad esse[1]; that is to wit, God may do it; *ergo*, It is done. God[2] may make his body in many, or in all places at once; *ergo*, it is in many or in all places at once. Which manner of argumentation, how false and naught it is, every sophister and every man that hath wit perceiveth.

M. p. 1115.

[1 From the possibility to prove the existence.]
[2 So B., L., and More; but D. has *Christ*.]

A like argument: God may shew More the truth and call him to repentance, as he did Paul for persecuting his church: *ergo*, More is converted to God. Or, God may let him run of an indurate heart with Pharaoh; and at last take an open and sudden vengeance upon him, for persecuting his word, and burning his poor members[3]: *ergo*, It is done already. M. More must first prove it us by express words of holy scripture, and not by his own unwritten dreams, that Christ's body is in many places or in all places at once: and then, though our reason cannot reach it, yet our faith, measured and directed with the word of faith, will both reach it, receive it, and hold it fast too; not because it is possible to God and impossible to reason, but because the written word of our faith saith it. But when we read God's word, in more than twenty places, contrary that his body should be here, More must give us leave to believe his unwritten vanities (verities, I should say) at leisure. Here mayest thou see, christian reader, wherefore More would so fain make thee believe, that the apostles left aught[4] unwritten, of necessity to be believed; even to stablish the pope's kingdom, which standeth of More's unwritten vanities; as of the presence of Christ's body and making thereof in the bread, of purgatory, of invocation of saints, worshipping of stones and stocks, pilgrimages, hallowing of boughs and bells, and creeping to the cross, &c. If ye will believe whatsoever More can feign without the scripture, then can this poet feign you another church than Christ's, and that ye must believe it whatsoever it teacheth you; for he hath feigned too, that it cannot err, though ye see it err and fight against itself a thousand times: yea, if it tell you black is white, good is bad, and the devil is God; yet must ye believe it, or else be burned as heretics. But let us return to our purpose.

The confutation of his second argument. Auth.

M. p. 1115.

Christ, in that he is God, may do all things that he will, but yet he will not falsify his holy scriptures.

More is a great setter-forth of unwritten verities.

To dispute of God's almighty absolute power, what God may do with his body, it is great folly, and no less presumption to More, since the pope, which is no whole God, but half a God by their own decrees[5], hath decreed no man to dispute

Although the pope dare not take upon him to be God, yet he is contented

[3 This passage did not escape More's notice. He has commented upon it through five pages.]

[4 So B., L., and More, but D. has *out certain things*.]

[5 Satis evidenter ostenditur, a seculari potestate nec ligari prorsus, nec solvi posso Pontificem, quem constat a pio principe Constantino

to be named and taken for half a God. M. p. 1121.

of his power[1]. But, christian reader, be thou content to know that God's will, his word, and his power, be all one, and repugn not. And neither willeth he, nor may not do, any thing including repugnance, imperfection, or that should derogate, minish, or hurt his glory and his name. The glory of his Godhead is to be present and to fill all places at once essentially, presently[2] with his almighty power; which glory is denied to any other creature, himself saying by his prophet, "I will not give my glory to any other" creature. Now, therefore, since his manhood is a creature, it cannot have this glory only which is appropried to the Godhead. To attribute to his manhood that property which only is appropried to his Godhead, is to confound both the natures of[3] Christ. What thing soever is everywhere after the said manner, that must needs be infinite, without beginning and end; it must be one alone, and almighty; which properties only are appropried unto the glorious majesty of the Godhead. Wherefore Christ's body may not be in all, or in many places, at once: Christ himself saying, as concerning his manhood, he is less than the Father, but as touching his Godhead, "The Father and I be both one thing;" and Paul, reciting the psalm, affirmeth Christ, as concerning his manhood, to be less than God, or less than angels, as some text hath it. Here is it plain that all things that More imagineth and feigneth are not possible to God; for it is not possible for God to make a creature equal unto himself: for it includeth repugnance, and derogateth his glory. God promised and swore, that all nations should be blessed in the death of that promised Seed, which was Christ. God had determined and decreed it before the world was made: *ergo*, Christ must needs have died; and not to expound this word *oportet* as More minceth it: for it was so necessary, that

M. p. 1122.

Isai. xlii.

Christ, as touching his manhood, occupieth at one time but one place; but his Godhead is in all places at once. John xiv. John x. Heb. ii.

Deum appellatum: nec posse Deum ab hominibus judicari manifestum est.—Decreti Prima pars, Distinct. 96. Satis. (i. e. cap. 7.) Corp. Jur. Canon. Thielman Kerver, 1516.]

[1 Nemo judicabit primam sedem justitiam temperare desiderantem. Neque enim ab Augusto, neque ab omni clero, neque a regibus, neque a populo judex judicabitur.—Decreti Secunda pars, Caus. ix. Qu. 3. Nemo (cap. 13).]

[2 More says, 'I let pass here this word *presently*, whose presence needeth not in that place. For how can he be present, and essentially fill the place, and not *presently*?'—B. iv. chap. 14 of More's Answer.]

[3 More has *in*.]

the contrary was impossible; except More would make God a liar, which is impossible. Paul concludeth that Christ must needs have died, using this Latin term, *necesse;* saying, "Wheresoever is a testament, there must the death of the testament-maker go between; or else the testament is not ratified and sure:" but righteousness and remission of sins in Christ's blood is his new testament, whereof he is mediator; *ergo*, the testament-maker must needs have died. Wrest not therefore, M. More, this word *oportet* (though ye find *potest* for *oportet* in some corrupt copy) unto your unsavoury sense. But let *oportet* signify, 'he must,' or 'it behoveth him to die.' For he took our very mortal nature for the same decreed counsel, himself saying, *Oportet exaltari Filium hominis*, &c.; "It behoveth that the Son of man must die; that every one that believeth in him perish not," &c. Here may ye see also, that it is impossible for God to break his promise. It is impossible to God, which is that verity[4], to be found contrary in his deeds and words: as to save them whom he hath damned, or to damn them whom he hath saved. Wherefore all things imagined of M. More's brain are not possible to God.

Heb. ix.

Christ must needs die, for God had so promised before.

John ii. and xii.

God may not be found a liar.

And when More saith, that Christ had power to let his life and to take it again, and therefore not to have died of necessity; I wonder me, that his schoolmaster[5] here failed him, so cunning as he maketh himself therein; which granteth and affirmeth (as true it is), that with the necessary decreed works of God's foresight and providence standeth right well his free liberty. But M. More saith at last: 'If God would tell me that he would make each of both their bodies two,' (meaning the young man's body and Christ's[6],) 'to be in fifteen places at once, I would believe him, I[7], that he were able to make his word true in the bodies of both twain; and never would I so much as ask him whether he would glorify them both first or not: but I am sure, glorified or unglorified, if he said it, he is able to do it.' Lo! here may ye see what a

M. p. 1124.

More would have believed Christ, if he had talked with him, whatsoever he had said to him.

[4 Meaning, *Truth itself.*]

[5 He means Erasmus, who had a controversy with Luther on the topic of free-will, De libero arbitrio.]

[6 So B., and More quoting this, p. 1124, col. 2. D. has *his.*]

[7 So More, in copying this quotation from himself; and this reading is confirmed, where his words are imitated in a passage which will soon occur. D. omits this *I.*]

fervent faith this old man hath, and what an earnest mind to believe Christ's words, if he had told him. But, I pray you, M. More, what and if Christ never told it you, nor said it, nor never would; would ye not be as hasty to not[1] believe it? If he told it you, I pray you tell us where you spake with him, and who was by to bear ye record; and if you bring as false a shrew as yourself to testify this thing, yet, by your own doctrine, must ye make us a miracle to confirm your tale, ere we be bound to believe you, or yet to admit this your argument, 'God may make his body in many places at once; *ergo*, it is so.' Sir, ye be too busy with God's almighty power; and have taken too great a burden upon your weak shoulders[2]: ye have overladen yourself with your own harness and weapons; and young David is likely to prevail against you with his sling and stone. God hath infatuated your high subtle wisdom. Your crafty conveyance is espied. God hath sent your church a meet cover for such a cup, even such a defender as ye take upon yourself to be; that shall let all their whole cause fall flat in the mire, unto both your shames and utter confusion. God therefore be praised ever! Amen.

God's almighty power is not to be busily dealt withal.

M. p. 1126.

Then saith M. More, though it seemeth repugnant both to him and to me, one body to be in two places at once; yet God seeth how to make them stand together well enough. This man, with his old eyes and spectacles, seeth far in God's sight, and is of his privy-council, that knoweth belike by some secret revelation, how 'God seeth one body to be in many places at once' includeth[3] no repugnance: for word hath he none for him in all scripture, no more than one body to be in all places at once. It implieth, first, repugnance to my sight and reason, that all this world should be made of nothing, and that a virgin should bring forth a child: but yet, when I see it written with the words of my faith, which God spake, and brought it so to pass; then implieth it no repugnance to me at all: for my faith reacheth it, and receiveth it stedfastly. For I know the voice of my herdsman; which if he said, in any place of scripture, that his body should have been contained under the form of bread, and so

More doth but scoff out the matter.

Matters of faith are repugnant to reason.

[1 So B. and More. D. has *not to*.]
[2 More *shouldren*; B. *shouldern*.]
[3 So B. and More. D. has *including*.]

in many places at once here in earth, and also abiding yet still in heaven too; verily I would have believed him, I[4], as soon and as firmly as M. More. And therefore even yet, if he can shew us but one sentence, truly taken for his part, as we can do many for the contrary, we must give place: for, as for his unwritten verities and the authority of his antichristian[5] synagogue, unto which (the scripture forsaken) he is now at last, with shame enough, compelled to flee; they be proved stark lies and very devilry.

God's blessed will is declared in his scriptures.

M. p. 1126.

Then saith he, that 'Ye wot well that many good folk have used in this matter many good fruitful examples of God's other works; not only miracles, written in scripture,' (*Unde versus?* where one, I pray ye?) 'but also done by the common course of nature here in earth.' If they be done by the common course of nature, so be they no miracles. 'And some things made also by man's hand; as one face beheld in divers glasses, and in[6] every piece of one glass broken into twenty,' &c. Lord, how this pontifical poet playeth his part! Because (as he saith) we see many faces in many glasses, therefore may one body be in many places; as though every shadow and similitude, representing the body, were a bodily substance[7]. But I ask More, when he seeth his own face in so many glasses, whether all those faces that appear in the glasses be his own very face, having bodily substance, skin, flesh, and bone, as hath that face which hath his very mouth, nose, eyes, &c. wherewith he faceth us out the truth, thus falsely, with lies? And if they be all his very faces, then in very deed there is one body in many places, and he himself beareth as many faces in one hood. But, according to his purpose, even as they be no very faces, nor those so many voices, sounds, and similitudes, multiplied in the air between the glass or other object and the body (as the philosopher proveth by natural reason), be no very bodies; no more is it Christ's very body,

M. p. 1130.

More travaileth in his poetry.

More's similitude, of faces in the glass, proveth no faces in substance.

M. p. 1130.

[4 B., L., and More have *I* here, though omitted by Day.]

[5 So B. and More. D. has *antichrist's*.]

[6 So B., but D. omits *in*.]

[7 See Thomas Aquin. Opusc. lviii. De sacr. altaris, cap. xiii. Nam si facici tuæ plura proponas specula, in omnibus æqualiter et integraliter una apparebit facies: et si unum speculum in plura frusta etiam parva confringas, perfecta tua facies in singulis erit. Et licet speculum infringatur in plura, facies tua tamen manet in omnibus una, nec mutatur. Sic est re vera in sacramento Christi, &c.—Opusc. p. 388. col. 2.]

as they would make thee believe, in the bread, in so many places at once. But the bread, broken and eaten in the supper, monisheth and putteth us in remembrance of his death, and so exciteth us to thanksgiving, to laud and praise, for the benefit of our redemption; and thus we there have Christ present, in the inward eye and sight of our faith. We eat his body and drink his blood; that is, we believe surely that his body was crucified for our sins, and his blood shed for our salvation.

By faith we must eat and drink Christ's body and blood spiritually.

At last note, Christian reader, that M. More in the third book of his Confutation of Tyndale, the two hundred and forty-ninth side, to prove St John's gospel imperfect and insufficient (for leaving out of so necessary a point of our faith, as he calleth the last supper of Christ, his maundy), saith, that John spake nothing at all of this sacrament[1]. And now, see again, in these his letters against Frith, how himself bringeth in John the sixth chapter, to impugn Frith's writing, and to make all for the sacrament, even thus: "My flesh is verily meat, and my blood drink." Belike the man had there overshot himself foul; the young man here causing him to put on his spectacles, and pore better and more wisely with his old eyes upon St John's gospel, to find that thing there now written, which before he would have made one of his unwritten verities. As yet, if he look nar-

More writeth against himself.

M. B. v. ch. ii. p. 1134.

[1] In page 259 of More's Confutation (incorrectly headed ccxlix.) occurs the following passage: "If a man seek among the other evangelists, he shall find mo necessary things than one left out in Saint John. But now, because of Tyndale, let us take some one. And what thing rather than the last supper of Christ, his maundy with his apostles, in which he instituted the blessed sacrament of the altar, his own blessed body and blood. Is this no necessary point of faith? Tyndale cannot deny it for a necessary point of faith, although it were but of his own false faith, agreeing with Luther, Huskyn, or Zuinglius. And he cannot say that St John speaketh any thing thereof, specially not of the institution. Nor he cannot say that St John speaketh any thing of the sacrament at all, sith that his sect expressly denieth that St John meant the sacrament in his words, where he speaketh expressly thereof in the sixth chapter of his gospel."

In his answer to the present treatise, More tells a tale of a certain gentlewoman, asking him in reference to this passage, 'Have you considered well the place in your book, and seen that he saith truth? Nay, by my truth, quod I, that I have not.' Afterwards 'she sent for the book, and turned to the very 249th side, and with that number

rowly, he shall espy that himself hath proved us by scripture (in the thirty-seventh leaf of his dialogue of Quoth he and quoth I), our lady's perpetual virginity, expounding *non cognosco, id est, non cognoscam*, which now written unwritten verity he numbereth a little before among his unwritten vanities. Thus may ye see how this old holy upholder of the pope's church, his words fight against themselves into his own confusion, in finding us forth his unwritten written vanities,—verities I should say.

More an upholder of unwritten verities.

But return we unto the exposition of St John. When the Jews would not understand the[2] spiritual saying of the eating of Christ's flesh and drinking of his blood, so oft and so plainly declared, he gave them a strong stripe[3] and made them more blind (for they so deserved it,—such are the secret judgments of God), adding unto all his sayings thus, "Whoso eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood, abideth in me and I in him." These words were spoken unto these unbelievers into their farther obstination; but unto the faithful, for their better instruction. Now gather of this the contrary, and say, 'Whoso eateth not my flesh and drinketh not my blood, abideth not in me, nor I in him;' and join this to the foresaid sentence, "Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of man, and drink his blood, ye have no life in you." Let it never fall from thy mind, christian reader, that faith is the life of the righteous; and that Christ is this living bread whom thou eatest, that is to say, in whom thou believest. For if our papists take eating and drinking here bodily, as to eat the natural body of Christ under the form of bread, and to drink his blood under the

M. p. 1096.

M. p. 1137.

Habak. ii. Faith is the life of the righteous.

marked also. And in good faith, good reader, there found we no such manner matter, neither on the tone side of the leaf, nor on the tother. Howbeit of truth I cannot deny but that in a side after, mismarked with the No. of 249, which should have been marked with the No. of 259, there we found the matter in that place. But therein found we the most shameful either folly or falsehood of master Masker, that ever I saw lightly in any man in my life.' More's Works, p. 1135, col. 1.]

[2 So D., but More's quotation has *this*.]

[3 So D., but More has *tryppe*, i. e. trip. Some of the following paragraphs had been previously noticed and quoted by More; but after discussing the present paragraph, for a while, he brings his answer to an abrupt conclusion, in p. 1137, deferring any further remarks on Tyndale till he should have replied to 'the pestilent, peevish book of John Frith.']

form of wine; then must all young children (that never came to God's board) departed, and all laymen that never drank his blood, be damned. By love we abide in God, and he in us: love followeth faith in the order of our understanding, and not in order of succession of time, if thou lookest upon the self gifts, and not on their fruits. So that principally by faith, whereby we cleave to God's goodness and mercy, we abide in God, and God in us; as declare his words following, saying, "As the living Father sent me, so live I by my Father[1]; and even so he that eateth me shall live because of me," or for my sake. My Father sent me, whose will in all things I obey; for I am his Son: and even so verily must they that eat me, that is, believe in me, form and fashion them after my example, mortifying their flesh, and changing their living; or else they eat me in vain, and dissemble their belief. For I am not come to redeem the world only, but also to change their life. They, therefore, that believe in me shall transform their life after my example and doctrine, and not after any man's traditions. This is the bread that came from heaven, as the effect itself declareth, whom whoso eateth shall live ever. But he that eateth bodily bread liveth not ever, as ye may see of your fathers that ate manna, and yet are they dead. It is not, therefore, any[2] material bread, nor bodily food, that may give you life eternal.

1 John iv.

By faith we eat and drink Christ, and so he abideth in us and we in him. John vi.

Christian religion is faith and a life correspondent. Auth.

These words did not only offend them that hated Christ, but also some of his disciples "They were offended," said the text, (and not marvelled, as More trifleth out the truth,) which said, "This is an hard saying; who may hear this?" These disciples, yet, stuck no less in Christ's visible flesh, and in the bark of his words, than did the other Jews, and as doth now More, believing him to have spoken of his natural body to be eaten with their teeth: which offence Christ seeing, said, "Doth this offend you? What then will ye say, if ye see the Son of man ascend thither where he was before?" If it offend you to eat my flesh while I am here, it shall much more offend you to eat it when my body shall be gone out of your sight, ascended into heaven,

The Jews and also the disciples of Christ, were offended at his words.

[1 Tyndale's translation of John vi. 57, has *even so*, and inserts *my* as here.]

[2 So D., but B. has *no*.]

there sitting on the right hand of my Father, until I come again, as I went, that is, to judgment.' Here might Christ have instructed his disciples in[3] the truth of the eating of his flesh in form of bread, had this been his meaning. For he left them never in any perplexity or doubt; but sought all the ways, by similitudes and familiar examples, to teach them plainly. He never spake them so hard a parable, but where he perceived their feeble ignorance, anon he helped them and declared it them: yea, and sometimes he prevented their asking with his own declaration; and think ye that he did not so here? Yes, verily: for he came to teach us, and not to leave us in any doubt and ignorance, especially in the chief point of our salvation; which standeth in the belief in his death for our sins. Wherefore, to put them out of all doubt as concerning this eating of his flesh, and drinking of his blood, that should give everlasting life; where they took it for his very body to be eaten with their teeth, he said, 'It is the Spirit that giveth this life, my flesh profiteth nothing at all, to be eaten as ye mean so carnally. It is spiritual meat that I here speak of. It is my Spirit that draweth the hearts of men to me by faith, and so refresheth them ghostly. Ye be therefore carnal, to think that I speak of my flesh to be eaten bodily; for so it profiteth you nothing at all. How long will ye be without understanding? It is my Spirit, I tell you, that giveth life. My flesh profiteth you nothing to eat it; but to believe that it shall be crucified and suffer for the redemption of the world, it profiteth. And when ye thus believe, then eat ye my flesh and drink my blood; that is, ye believe in me, to suffer for your sins.' The Verity hath spoken these words, 'My flesh profiteth nothing at all;' it cannot therefore be false. For both the Jews and his disciples murmured and disputed of his flesh, how it should be eaten, and not of the offering thereof for our sins, as Christ meant. This, therefore, is the sure anchor to hold us by, against all the objections of the papists for the eating of Christ's body (as they say) in form of bread. Christ said, "My flesh profiteth nothing;" meaning, to eat it bodily. This is the key that solveth all their arguments, and openeth the way to shew us all their false and abominable blasphemous lies upon

Here Christ doth plainly shew that it is the spiritual eating, and not the fleshly eating of his body, that profiteth.

The eating of Christ's flesh profiteth nothing. M. p. 1098.

[3 So D., but B. wants *in*.]

Christ's words, and uttereth their sly[1] juggling over the bread, to maintain antichrist's kingdom therewith. And thus when Christ had declared it, and taught them that it was not the bodily eating of his material body, but the eating with the spirit of faith, he added, saying, "The words which I here speak unto you are spirit and life;" that is to say, this matter that I here have spoken of, with so many words, must be spiritually understood to give you this life everlasting: wherefore the cause, why ye understand me not, is, that ye believe not.

The words of Christ were spirit and life.

Here is, lo! the conclusion of all this sermon. Christ, very God and man, had set his flesh before them to be received with faith, that it should be broken and suffer for their sins; but they could not eat it spiritually, because they believed not in him: wherefore many of his disciples fell from him, and walked no more with him. And then he said to the twelve, "Will ye go away too? And Simon Peter answered, Lord, to whom shall we go? Thou hast the words of everlasting life: and we believe and are sure that thou art Christ, the Son of the living God." Here is it manifest, what Peter and his fellows understood by this eating and drinking of Christ; for they were perfectly taught, that it stood all in the belief in Christ, as their answer here testifieth. If this matter had stood upon so deep a miracle as our papists feign without any word of God, not comprehended under any of their common senses, that they should eat his body, being under the form of bread, as long, deep, thick, and as broad, as it hanged upon the cross; they being yet but feeble of faith, not confirmed with the Holy Ghost, must here needs have wondered, stunned and staggered, and have been more inquisitive in and of so strange a matter, than they were. But they neither doubted, nor marvelled, nor murmured, nor were anything offended with this manner of speech, as were the other that slipped away; but they answered firmly, "Thou hast the words of everlasting life, and we believe," &c.

M. p. 1110.

Christ's disciples understood Christ to speak spiritually, and believed.

Now to the exposition of the words of our Lord's supper. Among the holy evangelists, writing the story of Christ's supper, John, because the other three had written it at large, did but make a mention thereof in his thirteenth chapter;

M. p. 1110.

Matt. xxvi. Mark xiv. Luke xxii.

[1] Uttereth: *detects*, or *exposes*. B. and D. have *sleighe*, i. e. *sly;* but More appears to have read the word *sleight*, i.e. *slight, without strength.*]

Matthew, Mark and Luke declaring it clearly, orderly, and with just number of words; with whom Paul agreeth, thus writing unto the Corinthians: "Our Lord Jesus, the same night he was betrayed, he took the bread, and after he had given thanks, he brake it, saying, Take ye it, eat it: this is my body which is for you broken." 1 Cor. xi. Here is now to be noted the order of this action or act. First, Christ took the bread in his hands; secondarily, he gave thanks; thirdly, he broke it; fourthly, he raught[1] it them, saying, Take it; fifthly, he bade them eat it: and last after all this he said, "This is my body, which is for you broken: this thing do ye into the remembrance of me." Here ye see that this bread was first broken, delivered them, and they were commanded to eat it too, ere Christ said, "This is my body." And for because it is to suppose verily, that they took it at his hand as he bade them, and did eat it too, when they had it in their hands, their master (whose words they did ever obey) commanding them; it must needs follow (if these be the words of the consecration), that they were houseled with unconsecrated bread, or else now eaten, or at leastwise part of it, ere Christ consecrated it: yea, it followeth, that it was out of Christ's hands, and in their mouths, when Christ consecrated it; and so to have consecrated it, when it was now in his disciples' hands, or in their mouths, or rather in their bellies.

The order of the action. Auth.

Here it is manifest that Christ consecrated no bread, but delivered it to his disciples, and bade them eat it: insomuch that St Thomas, their own doctor, that made their transubstantiation, confesseth that some there were that said that Christ did first consecrate with other words, ere he, now reaching the bread to his disciples, said, "This is my body," &c.; and yet calleth he it no heresy so to say[2]. Now since

Christ consecrated no bread, but delivered it to his apostles to eat.

[1 Raught, old preterite of verb reach; D. has *taught*.]

[2 Videtur hoc esse contrarium usui ecclesiæ, secundum quem prius consecratur corpus Christi, et postea frangitur. Hic autem dicitur quod prius fregit, postea protulit verba consecrationis. Et ideo quidam dixerunt, quod Christus prius consecravit verbis aliis, et postea protulit verba quibus nos consecramus. . . . . Sed hoc non potest esse; quia sacerdos, dum consecrat, non profert ista verba quasi ex persona sua, sed quasi ex persona Christi consecrantis. Unde manifestum est quod eisdem verbis quibus nos consecramus et Christus consecravit.—Thom. Aquin. Comm. in Epist. Paulin. in 1 Cor. xi. 24. fol. 77. See also his

in all this act and supper, there be no words of consecration, but of the delivering of the bread broken after thanksgiving, with a commandment to eat it; bring us your words of consecration, and shew us by what words God promised you, and gave you power to make his body. There is neither commandment, nor yet any words left, in all the scripture, to make or to consecrate Christ's body, to bring it into the bread. But there be the words of God left in the first chapter of Genesis, whereby he made all the world; with which words, albeit we yet have them, yet is it denied us to make that thing that he made with them. Now since we, having his words of the creation, cannot yet make any new creature of nothing; how then shall we, without any words of consecration and making, make the Maker of all things?

There is left unto us no words of consecration, whereby we should alter and change the nature of bread into his body.

Unto this action, or supper, or deliverance of the bread, he added a reason and signification of this sign or sacrament, and what also is the use thereof; as though any should ask them thereafter, What sacrament, religion, or rite is this? they should answer, even in a like manner of speech as it was commanded their fathers to make answer to their children at the eating of the old passover, whereof this new passover was the verity, and that the figure, saying, "When your children ask you what religion is this? ye shall answer them, It is the sacrifice of the passing by of the Lord," &c. Lo! here the lamb, that signified and did put them in remembrance of that passing by in Egypt (the Israelites spared, and the Egyptians smitten,) was called in like phrase the self thing that it represented, signified, and did put them in remembrance of: none otherwise than if Christ's disciples, or any man else, seeing in that supper the bread taken, thanks given, the bread broken, distributed, and eaten, should have asked him, What sacrament or religion is this? he had to answer them, that Christ said, "This is my body, which is for you broken: this thing do ye in[1] remembrance of me;" that is to say, So oft as ye celebrate this supper, give thanks to me for your redemption: in which answer he calleth the outward sensible sign or sacrament, that is,

The use of the supper. Auth.

The paschal lamb.

The true meaning and signification of the sacrament of the

Lib. IV. Sentent. Dist. VIII. Qu. 2. Art. 1; and in Tert. pars Summ. Theol. Qu. 75. Art. 7.]

[1 So D., but B. has *into the*.]

the bread with all the other action, even the same thing that it signifieth, representeth, and putteth such eaters of the Lord's supper in remembrance of. For when he said, "Which is broken for you," every one of them saw that then it was not his body that was there broken, but the bread; for as yet he had not suffered, but the bread broken was divided into pieces, every one of the twelve taking and eating a piece, before he said, "This is my body," &c. body and blood of Christ.

Now since M. More will stick so fast in his literal sense upon these words, "This is my body," &c., then do I ask him what thing he sheweth us by this first word and pronoun demonstrative, *hoc;* in English, *this.* If he[2] shew us the bread, so is the bread Christ's body, and Christ's body the bread; which saying, in the literal sense, is an high heresy after them. And for this saying they burned the lord Cobham[3]. Also I ask, whether Christ, speaking these words, "This is my body," &c., had then the bread in his hands, wherewith he houseled his disciples, or no? That he had it not, but had now delivered it them, and had commanded them to eat it too, the order and words of the text plainly prove it, as is declared before. And St Mark telleth the story also in this order: "The cup taken in his hands, after he had given thanks, he gave it them, and they all drank thereof. And he said to them, This is my blood of the new testament, which is shed for many." Here is it manifest that they had all drunken thereof first, ere he said the words of consecration; if they be the words of any consecration. Besides this, if ye be so sworn to the literal sense in this matter, that ye will not in these words of Christ, "This is my body," &c., admit in so plain a speech no[4] trope, (for allegory there is none, if ye knew the proper difference of them both, which every grammarian can teach you;) then do I lay before your old eyes and spectacles too Christ's words spoken of the cup, both in Luke and Paul, saying, "This cup

More's literal sense is lost. Auth.

Mark xiv.

The words of consecration were spoken after Christ had delivered the bread and the cup.

Luke xxii. 1 Cor. xi.

[2 So B., but D. has *ye.*]

[3 At his examination before Abp. Arundel and other prelates in 1413, Lord Cobham said, 'I say now again, as our Lord Jesus Christ is very God and very man, so in the most blessed sacrament of the altar is Christ's very body and bread. Then said they all with one voice, It is a heresy.' Foxe, Acts and Mon. Vol. III. p. 331. Lond. 1837.]

[4 So B., but D. has *any.*]

is the new testament through my blood, which is shed for you." Here Christ calleth the wine in the cup the self cup; which every man knoweth is not the wine. Also he calleth the cup the new testament; and yet was not the cup, nor yet the wine contained therein, the new testament; and yet he calleth it the new testament, established and confirmed with his blood. Here ye see he called not the cup his blood, but the testament. Where is now your literal sense, that ye would so fain frame for your papists' pleasure? If ye will so sore stick to the letter, why do your faction leave here the plain letter, saying that the letter slayeth; going about the bush with this exposition and circumlocution, expounding "This is my body," that is to say, this is converted and turned into my body, and this bread is transubstantiated into my body? How far, lo! M. More, is this your strange Thomistical sense from the flat letter? If ye be so addicted to the letter, why fray ye the common people from the literal sense with this bug, telling them, the letter slayeth? But there is neither letter nor spirit that may bridle and hold your stiff-necked heads.

How the papists wrest the words of scripture.

John vi. Also ye shall understand that Christ rebuked the Jews for their literal sense and carnal understanding of his spiritual words, saying, "My flesh profiteth you nothing at all to eat it," &c. And their literal taking of his spiritual words was the cause of their murmur, &c.: for even there (as also like in other places) to eat Christ's flesh, &c., after the common phrase of the scripture, is nought else than to believe that Christ suffered death and shed his blood for us. Read

1 Cor. x. ye 1 Cor. x. that "our fathers all did eat the same spiritual meat, and drank the same spiritual drink," that we now eat and drink. Here I think M. More must leave his literal sense and material meat, or else deny Paul; and deny too, that our fathers did eat Christ, and drank his blood, which all here Paul saith: for to eat and to drink this spiritual meat and drink was, as himself declareth, to eat and drink Christ. "They drank of the stone (saith Paul), that went with them; which stone was Christ." And we eat and drink the very same stone: which is nought[1] else than to believe in Christ. They believed in Christ to come; and we believe in him comen, and having suffered. Where is now, think ye,

To eat Christ's flesh is to believe in him.

The manner of St Paul's speaking.

[1 So B., but D. has *nothing*.]

M. More's literal sense, for the eating of Christ's material body? Our fathers were one and the same church with us, under the same testament and promise, and even of the same faith in Christ. And even as they ate him and drank his blood, even the same spiritual meat and drink that we do eat and drink; so do we now, in the same faith. For what else was signified by this manner of speech, 'Our fathers did eat and drink Christ,' than that they believed in Christ to be incarnated, and to suffer death? What else meant the poor woman of Canaan by eating, than to believe, when she answered Christ, saying, "Ye say sooth, my Lord; but yet do the little whelps eat of the crumbs that fall from their masters' table?" This did she answer in an allegory, according to Christ's first answer unto her; she meaning, by the eating of the crumbs, the belief of his words and gospel to be scattered among the Gentiles; as Christ answering confirmed her meaning, saying, "O woman, great is thy faith." He said not, Thou art a great eater and devourer of bread. Here is it plain, that to eat in the scripture is taken to believe, as Christ himself expoundeth it so oft and so plenteously. And I am here compelled to inculk and iterate it with so many words, to satisfy (if it were possible) this carnal flesh-vourer and fleshly Jew.

Matt. xv.

An allegorical speech well allowed and used of Christ.

John vi.

Now, to examine and to discuss this matter more deeply and plainly, I shall compare the old passover with the new, and supper of the Lord. And to shew you how the figures correspond their verities, I will begin my comparison at baptism, comparing it with the Lord's supper, which be the two sacraments left us now under the grace of the gospel; and afterward (to set forth both these sacraments plainly) I will compare circumcision with baptism, and the passe[2] lamb with Christ's supper.

The old passover compared with the supper of our Lord.

Baptism compared with circumcision.

By baptism as we[3] testified unto the congregation our entering into the body of Christ, (take here Christ's body, as doth Paul, for his congregation,) to die, to be buried, and to rise with him, to mortify our flesh, and to be revived in spirit, to cast off the old man, and to do upon us the new; even so by the thanksgiving (for so did the old Greek doctors call this

1 Cor. x. xi. and xii. Rom. vi.

Eph. iv.

Eucharistia, thanksgiving. Auth. 1 Cor. x. and xi

[2 So B., L., and Day; for *paschal.*]

[3 So B., but L. *We by baptism testified:* D. has *We (by baptism) as we.*]

supper) at God's board, or at the Lord's supper, (for so doth Paul call it,) we testify the unity and communion of our hearts, glued unto the whole body of Christ in love: yea, and that in[1] such love as Christ at this his last supper expressed; what time he said, his body should be broken and his blood shed for the remission of our sins. And to be short, as baptism is the badge of our faith, so is the Lord's supper the token of our love to God and our neighbours: whereupon standeth the law and the prophets. "For the end of the precept is love out of a pure heart, and good conscience and faith unfeigned." So that by baptism we be initiated and consigned unto the worship of one God in one faith; and by the same faith and love at the Lord's supper we shew ourselves to continue in our possession, to be incorporated and to be the very members of Christ's body.

1 Tim. i.

Baptism was figured by circumcision; and the Lord's supper by the paschal lamb.

Both these sacraments were figured in Moses' law. Baptism was figured by circumcision; and the Lord's supper by the eating of the passe lamb: where like as by circumcision the people of Israel were reckoned to be God's people, several from the Gentiles; so be we now by baptism reckoned to be consigned unto Christ's church, several from Jews, paynims, &c. And as their passover, that is to say, their solemn feast yearly, in eating their passe lamb, was an outward token of their perseverance in their religion, and in remembrance of their passage out of Egypt into the land of Canaan; so is now the eating of the Lord's supper (which Christ and Paul called our passover) a token of our perseverance in our christian profession at baptism, and also thanksgiving, with that joyful remembrance of our redemption from sin, death, and hell, by Christ's death. Of the figure of this supper, our new passover, thus is it written: "After ye be entered into that land, which the Lord God shall give you, according to his promise, ye shall keep this ceremony. And when your children ask you, what religion is this? ye shall answer them, It is the sacrifice of the passing over of the Lord, when the Lord passed foreby the houses of the children of Israel in Egypt, smiting the Egyptians and delivering our houses." This eating, therefore, of the passe lamb was the figure of the Lord's supper; which figure, when the hour was come that he would it to cease and give place unto the verity, as the shadow to vanish away

Luke xxii. 1 Cor. v.

Exod. xii.

[1] So B., but D. wants *in*.]

at the presence of the body, he said thus; "With a fervent desire do I long to eat this passover with you, ere I suffer." Luke xxii.

Again, let us compare the figure with the truth, the old passover with the new, and diligently consider the property of speaking in and of either of them. Let us expend the succession, imitation, and time; how, the new succeeding the old, Christ sitting at the[2] supper, mediator between both, celebrating both with his presence, did put out the old and bring in the new. For there is in either of them such like composition of words, such affinity and proportion of speech, such similitude and property in them both, the new so corresponding in all things to the old, that the old declareth the new, what is it, wherefore it was instituted, and what is the very use thereof. And, to begin at circumcision, the figure of baptism: ye shall understand, that in such rites and sacraments there are two things to be considered, that is to wit, the thing, and the sign of the thing. The thing is it wherefore the sign is instituted, to signify it: as in circumcision, the thing is the covenant to be of the people of God; and the sign is the cutting off the foreskin of the privy member. In the passover the thing was the remembrance, with thanksgiving, for the deliverance out of the hard servitude of Egypt; but the sign was the lamb roasted, with such ceremonies as were there prescribed them. So in baptism; the thing is the promise to be of the church of Christ: the sign is the dipping into the water, with the holy words. In our Lord's supper, the very thing is Christ promised and crucified, and of faith with[3] thanksgiving unto the Father for his Son given to suffer for us: but the sign is the dealing and distributing, or reaching forth, of the bread and wine, with the holy words of our Lord spoken at his supper, after he had thus dealt the bread and wine unto his disciples.

The paschal lamb eaten, and the sacrament instituted.

Two things to be considered in the sacraments. Auth.

The matter and substance of the sacrament and the signs of the same.

And here is it diligently to be noted, that since[4] in all these rites, ceremonies, or sacraments of God, thus instituted, these two things (that is to wit, the thing signified, and the sign that signifieth) be concurrent and inseparable, it is the common use and property of speech in the scripture to

The sign is called the thing. Auth.

[2 So L., in D. *the* is wanting, and the arrangement different.]

[3 So D., but in B. and L. *with* is wanting.]

[4 So B., but in D. *that in all such*.]

call the sign the thing; as is circumcision called the covenant. Every man-child must be circumcised, that my covenant might be in your flesh for a perpetual bond[1]. And yet was it only but the outward sign and seal of the covenant, that the seed of Abraham should be his especial chosen people, and that he would be their God. The lamb, that was but the sign, was called the passover; and yet was not the lamb the passing over, but the sign only, exciting and monishing them to remember that deliverance by the angel passing by the Israelites in Egypt, smiting the Egyptians. And since the scripture did use[2] this trope or manner of speech with so great grace in the old rites and ceremonies that figured our sacraments; why may it not with like grace, for that analogy and proper congruence of the figures with their verities, use the same phrase and manner of speech in their verities? If the scripture called the sign the thing, in circumcision and the passover, why should we be offended with the same speech in our baptism and in the Lord's supper? since such manner of speech has no less grace and fulness here than there, to bring the thing signified into our hearts by such outward sensible signs. For when that sign of circumcision was given the child, then were they certified (as an outward token may certify,) that the child was of the people of Israel. And therefore did the signs then, as they do now, bear the names of the things which they signified; as the lamb, eaten in the passover, was called the sacrifice and the self passover, none otherwise than in our new passover, that is, the Lord's supper, the bread broken, &c. is called the body of Christ; and the wine, poured forth and distributed to each man, the blood of Christ; because the bread, so broken and dealt, signifieth unto the receivers, and putteth them in remembrance of the sacrifice of his body on the altar of the cross, and of his blood poured forth for our redemption: so that this manner of speech, in the administration and use of the supper of our Lord, to say, 'This is my body, and this my blood,' is as much to say as, 'this signifieth my body, this signifieth my blood;' which supper is here celebrated to put us in remembrance of Christ's death, and to excite us to thanksgiving.

Gen. xvii.

Exod. xii.

The scripture calleth the signs by the name of the thing that it signifieth.

The bread in the sacrament called the body of Christ, and the wine called the blood of Christ.

Neither let it offend thee, O christian reader, that *est* is

[1 So B., but D. *band*.]

[2 So B. and L. In D. the arrangement of the words is different.]

taken for *significat;* that is to say, *This is that,* is as much to say as, *this signifieth that.* For this is a common manner of speech in many places of scripture, and also in our mother-tongue; as when we see many pictures or images, which ye know well are but signs to represent the bodies whom they be made like, yet we say of the image of our lady, 'This is our lady;' and of St Katharine, 'This is St Katharine:' and yet do they but represent and signify us our lady or St Katharine: and as it is written, "The three branches are three days, the three baskets are three days;" which was nought else but, they signified three days. Also in the twenty-eighth chapter Jacob said, "This stone, which I have set up an end, shall be God's house;" which stone yet was never God's house, nor never shall be, but only did signify God's house, to be builded in that same place. Again Pharaoh dreamed to have seen seven fair fat oxen, and eftsoons seven poor lean oxen: which Joseph expounding said, "The seven fat oxen are seven plenteous years;" in which phrase, or manner of speech, every man seeth that the oxen were no years, but they signified such years. Marvel not, therefore, though *est* likewise in this sentence, *Hoc est corpus meum,* be taken for *significat;* as much to say as, 'This signifieth my body.' And yet for because the scriptures, conferred together, expound themselves, as saith St Austin[3]; and Peter, "That we have before a firm and sure prophetical speech, unto which if ye attend, as unto a light set up in a dark place, ye do well[4];" I shall shew you a like phrase in Ezekiel, where the destruction of Jerusalem was thus figured: God commanding Ezekiel to take a sword as sharp as a razor, and shave of his head and beard, and then take a certain weight of the hairs divided into three parts; the one he should burn in the middle of the city, another he should cut round about, and cast the third up into the wind, &c.; which done, he said, "Thus saith the Lord

Est is taken for *significat.* Auth.

Gen. xl.

The figurative speeches used in the scripture. Gen. xxviii.

2 Pet. i.

Ezek. v.

[3 In the third book of Augustine's treatise 'On Christian Doctrine,' among the rules for the right exposition and understanding of the holy scriptures, the principle stated by Tyndale is laid down and exemplified in sections 37, 38, and 39.—Aug. Op. Tom. III. pars 1. col. 56.]

[4 In Tyndale's New Test. it is, 'We have also a more sure word of prophecy, whereunto if ye take heed, as unto a light that shineth in a dark place, ye do well.']

The manner of speaking in the scripture.

God; This is Jerusalem:" which act and deed so done was not Jerusalem; but it signified and preached unto the beholders of it Jerusalem to be destroyed; none otherwise than the breaking and distributing of the bread and wine, called Christ's body and blood, signifieth and preacheth us the death of Christ, the figure and sign bearing the name of the thing signified, as in the prophet's speech, saying, "This is Jerusalem," which did but signify Jerusalem. When Christ did breathe into his disciples, saying, "Take ye the Holy Ghost;" the same breath was not the Holy Ghost, but signified and represented them the Holy Ghost; with a thousand like manner of speech in the scripture.

John xx.

In the old passover thanks were given for the slaughter of the first-begotten, wherein the king's posterity of Egypt fell away; whereby the Hebrews were spared, passed over, and delivered. But in the new passover thanks are[1] given that the only-begotten Son of the most Highest was crucified; whereby all faithful are spared, passed over, and not smitten with the sword of damnation, but delivered and saved in the lamb's blood that hath taken away the sins of the world. In the old passover the lamb or feast is called the Lord's passover, and yet was neither the lamb nor the feast his passing over, but the sign and commemoration of his passing by. And even so is it now, in the new supper of our Lord: it is there called the body of our Lord; not that there is any thing wherein his very natural body is contained, so long and broad as it hanged on the cross, (for so is it ascended into heaven, and sitteth on the right hand of the Father;) but that thing that is there done in that supper, as the breaking and dealing[2] and eating of the bread, and the whole like action of the wine, signifieth, representeth, and putteth into our hearts, by the spirit of faith, this commemoration, joyful remembrance, and so to give thanks for that inestimable benefit of our redemption, wherein we see with the eye of our faith, presently, his body broken and his blood shed for our sins. This is no small sacrament, nor yet irreverently to be entreated; but it is the most glorious and highest sacrament, with all reverence and worship, with[3] thanksgiving, to be ministered, used, received, preached, and solemnly in the face of the congregation to be

The natural body of Christ is not in the sacrament.

The same must be worshipped to whom thanks are given. Auth.

[1 So B., but D. *were.*] [2 That is, dividing.]
[3 So B., but D. omits *worship with.*]

celebrated: of whose holy administration and use I shall, peradventure, speak in the end of this supper.

But in the mean season, christian reader, let these sensible signs signify and represent his death, and print it in thy heart; giving thanks incessantly unto God the Father for so incomparable a benefit, that hath given thee his own, only, so dearly-beloved Son, our Saviour Jesus Christ, to die for thy sins; yea, and that when we were not his children, but his enemies. Christ's disciples said to the man, "Where is this guest-chamber, where I might eat the passing-by with my disciples?" And they prepared the passover: and yet Christ ate not the passover, but the lamb, with his disciples; where it is plain the sign to do on the name of the thing[4]. The use of the supper. Auth. Luke xxii.

At last, consider unto what end all things tended in that last supper; how the figure teached the verity, the shadow the body; and how the verity abolished the figure, and the shadow gave place to the body. Look also with what congruence, proportion, and similitude, both in the action and the speech, all things were consonant[5] and finished; and all to lead us, by such sensible signs, from the figure unto the verity, from the flesh unto the spirit. And take thou here this infallible and assured saying of Christ, never to fall from thy mind, in this last supper, "Do ye this into the remembrance of me;" and also of Paul, saying, "So oft as ye shall eat this bread," (lo! this heretic calleth it bread, even after the words of the pope's consecration) and "drink of this cup," praise, declare, and give thanks for the death of the Lord, until he shall come again to judgment. Remember thou also what Christ said to the carnal Jews, taking the eating of his flesh and drinking of his blood so carnally, answering them, "My flesh profiteth not," (meaning, to eat it bodily;) "but the Spirit maketh life." And to this set the prophet Habakkuk's sentence, "The just liveth of his faith." Note here the whole circumstance of the manner and institution of the sacrament of Christ's body. Luke xxii. 1 Cor. xi. John vi. Habak. ii.

And now, christian reader, to put thee clean out of doubt that Christ's body is not here present under the form of bread, (as the papists have mocked us many a day,) but in heaven, even as he rose and ascended; thou shalt know that he told his disciples, almost twenty times between the thirteenth and eighteenth chapters of John, that he should and would go Christ declared to his disciples that

[4 To *do on* is evidently used here, as elsewhere, for *to put on*.]

[5 So B., but D. *consummate*.]

he would leave this world and go to his Father in heaven.

hence, and leave this world: where, to comfort them again, for that they were so heavy for his bodily absence, he promised to send them his Holy Ghost, to be their comforter, defender, and teacher, in whom and by whom he would be present with them and all faithful unto the world's end. He said unto his disciples, 'I go hence;' 'I go to the Father;' 'I leave the world, and now shall I no more be in the world, but ye shall abide still in the world.' 'Father, I come to thee.' 'Poor men have ye ever with ye; but me shall ye not always have with you.' And when he ascended unto heaven, they did behold him, and saw the cloud take his body out of their sight; and they fastening their eyes after him, the two men clothed in white said unto them, "Ye men of Galilee, wherefore stand ye thus looking up into heaven? This is Jesus, that is taken up from you into heaven, which shall so come again, even as ye have seen him going hence."

Scriptures are many that shew Christ, as touching his natural body, is gone and is not here.

Acts i.

Christ ascended into heaven.

Here I would not More to flit from his literal plain sense. All these so plain words be sufficient, I trow, to a christian man to certify his conscience that Christ went his way, bodily ascending into heaven. For when he had told his disciples so oft of his bodily departing from them, they were marvellous heavy and sad; unto whom Christ said, "Because I told you that I go hence, your hearts are full of heaviness." If they had not believed him to have spoken of his very bodily absence, they would never have so mourned for his going away. And for because they so understood him, and he so meant as his words souned, he added, (as he should have said,) 'Be ye never so heavy, or how heavily soever ye take my going hence, yet do "I tell you truth: for it is expedient for you that I go hence. For if I should not go hence, that Comforter should not come unto you. But and if I go hence, I shall send him unto you.'" And again, in the same chapter, "I am come from the Father, and am come into the world; and shall leave the world again, and go to my Father." What mystery, think ye, should be in these so manifest words? Did he speak them in any dark parables? Did he mean otherwise than he spake? Did he understand by *going hence*, so often repeated, to tarry here still? Or did he mean by *forsaking and leaving the world*, to be but invisible; being still in the world with his body? No, surely: for he meant as faithfully and as plainly as his words souned; and even so did his

John xiv. and xvi.

Christ in plain words declareth his bodily departure out of this world.

disciples, without any more marvelling, understand him. For they answered him, saying, "Lo, now speakest thou apertly, neither speakest thou any proverb." But what a dark proverb and subtle riddle had it been, if he had meant, by his *going hence*, to have tarried here still; and by *forsaking the world*, to abide still in the world; and by his *going hence* to his Father by his very bodily ascension, to be but invisible? Who would interpret this plain sentence thus? 'I go hence, that is to say, I tarry here still.' 'I forsake the world and go to the Father; that is to say, I will be but invisible, and yet here abide still in the world bodily.' For as concerning his Godhead, which was ever with the Father, and in all places at once, he never spake such words of it. Christ said (his death now at hand) unto his disciples, "Now again I forsake the world and go to my Father, but ye shall tarry still in the world." If they will expound, by his forsaking the world, to tarry here still bodily, and to be but invisible; why do they not by like exposition interpret the tarrying here still of the disciples at that time, to be gone hence bodily and to be here visible? For Christ did set these contraries one against another, to declare each other: as, if to *tarry here still*, did signify to the disciples that they should abide in the world, as it doth indeed; then must needs his *going hence*, and *forsaking the world*, signify his bodily absence; as both the words plainly sound, Christ meant, and they understood them.

Christ plainly shewed unto his disciples that he must depart from this world to his Father in heaven.

But in so plain a matter, what need all these words? Be thou therefore sure, christian reader, that Christ's glorified body is not in this world, but in heaven, as he thither ascended; in which body he shall come, even as he went, gloriously, with power and great majesty, to judge all the world in the last day. Be thou therefore assured, that he never thus juggled or mocked his so dearly-beloved disciples, so full of heaviness now for his bodily departing. For if he had so meant as our papists have perverted his sayings, his disciples would have wondered at so strange manner of speech; and he would have expressed his mind plainly, since at this time he was so full set to leave them in no doubt, but to comfort them with his plain and comfortable words. And if he would have been but invisible and still bodily present, he would never have covered himself with the cloud, shewing them, and testifying also by those two men, his very bodily

Christ's glorified body is i heaven.

Christ's ascension was witnessed by many.

ascension out of their sights. We may not make, of his very bodily ascension, such an invisible juggling cast as our papists feign, fashioning and feigning Christ a body now invisible, now in many places at once; and then so great, and yet in so little a place; not discerned of any of our senses; now glorified, now unglorified; now passible, and then impassible; and I wot ne'er[1] what they imagine and make of their maker, and all without any word, yea, clean against all the words of holy scripture. For surely in this their imagination and so saying they bring in afresh the heresy of that great heretic Marcion; which said, that Christ took but a phantastical body, and so was neither verily born, nor suffered, nor rose, nor ascended verily, neither was he very man: which heresy Tertullian confuteth. Christ took verily our nature, such a passible and mortal body as we bear about with us; save that he was without all manner of sin. In such a body he suffered verily; and rose again from death in such a glorified body, now immortal, &c. as every one of us shall rise at the general judgment. It is appropried only to his Godhead to be every where, and not to be circumscribed nor contained in no one[2] place. And as for our papists' profane void voices, his body to be in many places at once, *indefinitive, incircumscriptive; non per modum quanti, neque localiter*[3], &c. which includeth in itself contradiction, of which Paul warned Timothy, calling them the oppositions of a false-named science, (for that their scholastical divinity must make objections against every truth, be it never so plain, with *pro* and *contra*,) which science many that profess it, saith Paul, "have erred from the faith:" as for this contention and battle about words, profitable for nothing else but to subvert the hearers, I care not for them; for I have the almighty testimony of the everlasting word of God, ready to soil all their mad and unreasonable reasons, to wipe them clean away, and to turn them into their own confusion[4].

The heresy of Marcion, what it was.

1 Tim. vi. 2 Tim. ii.

1 Tim. vi.

1 Cor. xi.

And for because they hold them so fast by Paul, I shall loose their hold; expounding the Lord's supper after Paul, which addeth immediately unto the cup this that Luke there

[1] B. ner, L. ne'er, D. neare.] [2] So D., but B. omits *one*.]

[3] Neither so as to have precise bounds, nor so as to be circumscribed; not after the manner of quantity, nor so as to occupy a place.]

[4] So B. and L. D. has *confession*.]

left forth: "Do ye this into my remembrance." This doth Paul repeat so often, to put us in mind that this thanksgiving and supper is the commemoration and the memorial of Christ's death. Wherefore, after all, he repeateth it yet again the third time, saying, "So oft as ye shall eat this bread" (he calleth it still bread even after the pope's consecration,) "and drink the cup," (he saith not drink this blood,) see that ye give thanks, be joyous, and "preach the death of the Lord," (for so much signifieth *annunciate*[5] in this place,) until he come; that is to say, from the time of his death and ascension until he come again to judgment. Furthermore saith Paul, "Whoso eateth this bread" (he calleth it still bread), "or drinketh of the cup of the Lord unworthily, is guilty of the body and blood of the Lord." The body and blood of the Lord Paul calleth here the congregation assembled together to eat the Lord's supper. For they are his body and blood, which are redeemed with his body and blood; as he said in the tenth chapter before: "The cup of thanksgiving which we receive with thanks, is it not the fellowship of the blood of Christ? The bread which we break, is it not the fellowship of the body of Christ? For we being many together are one bread, even[6] one body." Lo, here Paul expounding himself useth the same form of speech that is used in these words: "This is my body;" taking *is*, for signifieth: 'We are one bread, even one body;' that is to say, we are signified by one loaf of bread to be one body: he sheweth the cause, adding, "because we be all partakers of one loaf" or piece of bread. And in the twelfth chapter following he saith plainly, "Ye be the body of Christ and his particular members;" and in the first chapter to the Ephesians, "God did set Christ to be the head over all unto his congregation, which is his body," &c.

The supper of the Lord is the commemoration and memorial of Christ's death.

St Paul calleth the sacrament bread after the consecration.

By one loaf of bread we are signified to be one body in Christ.

1 Cor. xii.

Eph. i.

And because the comparison in the tenth chapter between the Lord's board and his cup, and the devil's board and his cup, do declare this matter, I shall recite Paul's words, saying, "Ye may not drink the cup of the Lord, and the cup of the devil both together. Ye may not be partakers of the Lord's board and the devil's board both at once." The devil's board, and his cup, was not his body and blood, but

The cup of the Lord and the cup of the devil, how they differ.

1 Cor. x.

[5 Announce ye.]

[6 Here and in the next sentence B. has *even*, where D. has *and*.]

the eating and drinking before their images and idols; as did the heathen in the worship and thanks of their gods: of which thing thou mayest gather what Paul meant by the Lord's board and his cup. Now let us return to Paul in the eleventh chapter: They eat this bread and drink of this cup unworthily, that come not unto this board with such faith and love as they professed at their baptism. They eat unworthily, that thrust themselves in among this congregation, having not the love that this sacrament, and sign of unity, teacheth and signifieth: which manner of people Paul in this same chapter rebuketh, and bendeth all his sermon against them; for that they were contentious, and came together not for the better but for the worse: so that their coming together, which should have been a token of faith and love, was turned into the occasion and matter of dissension and strife; because every man did eat, as Paul saith, his own supper, and not the Lord's supper; wherein the bread and drink is common, as well to the poor as to the rich. But here the rich disdained the poor, and would not tarry for them; so that some, as the rich, went their way drunken and full, and the poor departed hungry and dry: which was a token of no equal distribution of the bread and drink, and that the rich contemned the poor, and so became slanderous, and guilty of the body and blood of Christ; that is to wit, of the poor congregation, redeemed with Christ's body and blood. Thus they that came together, appearing to have had that love which the supper signified, and had it not, uttered themselves by this contentious and unloving dealing not to be members of Christ's body, but rather guilty and hurtful unto them: as, if a soldier of our adversaries' part should come in among us with our Lord's badge, having not that heart, faith and love to our captain that we have, we would (if we espied it by any token) take him for a spy and betrayer rather than one of us.

Who they are that eat of the bread and drink of the cup unworthily.

Every man did eat his own supper and not the supper of the Lord.

Let a man therefore, saith Paul, prove himself well before, whether he hath this faith to Christ, and love to God and his neighbour, which all he professed at baptism, and this supper signified; and so come in among the congregation to eat of this bread and drink of this cup. He calleth it still bread and wine, and neither his body nor blood. "For he that eateth and drinketh unworthily, eateth and drinketh his

We must first examine ourselves, and then come to the table of the Lord.

own damnation, because he discerneth[1] not the Lord's body." He calleth still the Lord's body the congregation redeemed with Christ's body, as he did before, and also in the chapter following, fetching his analogy and similitude at the natural body; in which although there be divers members, one excelling another, one inferior, viler and more contemptible than another, yet may not the body want them, but must cover them reverently, and hold them in honour. Again, in the body, though there be divers members of divers offices, yet is there no discord among them; but every member, be it never so low and vile, yet doth it minister and serve another, and altogether hold up and help the whole body. This consideration with these comparisons so eloquently, so plenteously, so lively, doth Paul set forth in that twelfth chapter, that no man can desire any more; and all to bring us into the consideration and discretion of the body of Christ, which is his congregation; without which consideration and discretion if we thrust ourselves in, with his sign and cognisance[2], feignedly, we be but hypocrites, and eat and drink our own judgment. "For this cause many are sick among you, and many are asleep," that is, are dead. Here it seemeth some plague to have been cast upon the Corinthians for this abuse in the eating of the Lord's supper. For both the law and the prophets threatened us plagues, as pestilence, famine, and sword, for our sins. For "if we had judged ourselves," that is, if we had diligently examined our own living, and repented, "we should not have been judged," that is to say, punished of the Lord. "But while we be punished, we be corrected of the Lord, lest we should be condemned with the world. Wherefore, my brethren, when ye come together to eat, tarry one for another." Here is the cause of all this dissension, wherefore Paul rebuketh them.

Look more of this in the epistle to the reader. Auth.

If we come not thankfully and charitably unto the Lord's board, we eat and drink our damnation.

But here might some of them object and tell Paul, 'Sir, we come hither hungry and may not tarry so long:' whereunto Paul answereth, as he did before, saying, "Have ye not houses to eat and drink in? Do ye contemn the congregation of God, and shame them that have none?" Here he calleth the poor the church of God, whom afterward he called the body of the Lord; and now at last he saith,

St Paul calleth the poor the church of God.

[1 So D., but B. and L. have *discriveth*.]

[2 So B., but D. *recognisance*.]

"If any man be so hungry, let him eat somewhat at home," and so delay his hunger, that he may the better tarry for the poor, "lest ye come together unto your condemnation. And as for other things, I shall dispose and set in order when I come." These other things were concerning this supper, and such as were out of frame among them; which, if ye read the whole epistle, are easy to see, and that they were no necessary truths for their salvation: for all such truths Paul had preached them before, and written them too. Neither were these other things Lent fast; the assumption of our lady; hallowing of boughs, bells, and ashes; hallowing of vestments, and creeping to the cross, with such other unwritten vanities, as M. More listeth to jest and trifle out the truth.

This place the papists allege to prove unwritten verities.

Now have ye the very pure sense of these Christ's words, "This is my body," that is to say, This signifieth or representeth my body; taking *est* for *significat:* as M. More himself uttered it in his Dialogue put forth in William Barlow's name, reciting the opinions of Œcolampadius and Zuinglius, saying, "This is my body, is as much to say as, This signifieth my body;" where he saith that Œcolampadius allegeth for him Tertullian, Chrysostom, and Austin, but falsely, sometime adding more to their words, sometime taking away from their sentences: which saying is plain false, and he belieth the man now departed[1]. For first, his incomparable learning and very spiritual judgment would not suffer him to be ignorant in the understanding of these old

More belieth Œcolampadius and Zuinglius.

[1 Œcolampadius had departed this life in Nov. 1531, or little more than a year before the writing of this treatise. The greater part of this paragraph is very obscure. In accordance with what was then the ordinary use of the word *uttered*, the writer may perhaps mean that More had pointed out this signification in some remarks upon a dialogue put forth in William Barlow's name. We find in the sentence passed upon Richard Bayfield, a priest and monk of Edmonsbury, burnt in London November 27, 1531, that he is charged with distributing a work of Œcolampadius upon the words 'Hoc est corpus meum;' and also 'A dialogue betwixt the gentleman and the ploughman;' and of this dialogue Strype says, 'It was composed by Barlow.' Eccles. Mem. chap. 23. Vol. I. p. 225. Oxf. 1822. In the catalogue of books prohibited by royal proclamation at the bishops' procurement, says Foxe, there occurs, Quid de eucharistia veteres tum Græci tum Latini senserint dialogus; in quo epistolæ Phil. Melancthonis et Joh. Œcolampadii insertæ sunt. Foxe, Vol. IV. p. 668 and 685. Lond. 1837.]

holy doctors, whom I dare say he understood as well as More: and his conscience and faithfulness would not suffer him falsely to pervert them, as M. More believeth and perverteth Christ, and Paul, and all holy scripture. And if this man had thus dealt with these doctors' sayings, Luther, against whom he did contend in this matter, would not have left it untold him[2].

But, christian reader, to put thee out of doubt, have here these doctors' own words both in Latin and English. And first hear Tertullian; where thou must first understand that there was an heretic called Marcion, saying that Christ took not to him the very body of man, but an imagined and phantastical body, to put off and on when he listed, and so not to have been born verily of the Virgin Mary, nor yet to have suffered verily death, &c.: against whom thus writeth Tertullian in his fourth book: *Professus itaque se concupiscentia concupisse edere pascha, ut suum acceptum panem et distributum discipulis, corpus suum illum fecit, 'Hoc est corpus meum' dicendo; id est, figura corporis mei. Figura autem non fuisset, nisi veritatis esset corpus. Ceterum vacua res, quod est phantasma, figuram capere non posset*[3]. Which words are thus in English spoken of Christ: 'Which acknowledging himself with how fervent desire he longed to eat the passover, as his bread taken and distributed to his disciples, made it his body, saying, This is my body, that is to say, the figure of my body; for figure had it been none, except it were a very body: for a void thing, which is a phantasy, can receive no figure.' Here is it plain that "This is my body," after the old holy doctor, is as much to say as, This is the figure or sign that representeth or signifieth my body.

Tertullian.

The words of Tertullian.

And thus said Austin: *Lex dicit non esse manducandum sanguinem, quod anima sit sanguis. Quod lex dicit, sanguis est anima; esse positum dicimus, sicut alia multa, et pene*

Austin. ca. xii. against Adimant. Auth.

[2 The Lambeth edition has in the margin, 'Look more of this in the epistle to the reader;' being a reference to Crowley's prefatory address. Foxe allowed the same marginal note to stand in Day's edition, though it has no epistle to the reader.]

[3 Tertull. adv. Marcion. Lib. IV. cap. 40. The writer has omitted the words, indignum enim ut quid alienum concupisceret Deus, which are inclosed in a parenthesis between suum and acceptum, as being irrelevant to the question between himself and the church of Rome. See the bishop of Lincoln's account of Tertullian's writings against Marcion; especially pp. 507-8 of 2nd edition.]

omnia scripturarum illarum sacramenta, signis et figuris plena futuræ prædicationis, quæ jam per Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum declarata est, &c. Possum etiam interpretari præceptum illud in signo esse positum. Non enim dubitavit Dominus dicere, 'Hoc est corpus meum,' quum signum daret corporis sui. Sic est enim sanguis anima, quomodo petra erat Christus. Nec tamen quum hæc diceret, ait, Petra significabat Christum; sed ait, Petra erat Christus. Quæ rursus ne carnaliter acciperetur, spiritualem illam vocat, id est, spiritualiter intelligi docet[1]. Which words be thus in English: 'The law sayeth that blood should not be eaten, because the life is blood; which precept of the law, and because that blood is life, we affirm it to be set like as many other almost innumerable sacraments of those scriptures, full of signs and figures of the preaching to come, which now is declared by our Lord Jesu Christ, &c. And I may interpret that precept to be laid in a sign, for the Lord doubted not to say, This is my body, when he gave the sign of his body. And even so is the blood life, as[2] the stone was Christ. And yet, when he said these words, he said not the stone signified Christ; but he said the stone was Christ, which, lest they should be taken carnally, he calleth it spiritual, that is to say, he teacheth it to be understood spiritually.' Where is now More's literal sense and material meat?

Gen. ix. Levit. vii. Deut. xii.

Austin calleth the sacrament the sign of his body.

Now shall ye hear Chrysostom: *Nihil sensibile tradidit Christus; licet dederit panem et vinum: non quod panis et vinum non sint sensibilia, sed quod in illis mentem hærere noluit. Nam in suum corpus, quod est panis vitæ, subvehit dicens, Hoc est corpus meum; perinde ac dicat: Hoc licet panis sit, significat tamen tibi corpus*[3]. Thus it is in English: 'Christ, giving bread and wine, gave no sensible thing; not that bread and wine be not sensible, but that he would not our mind to stick still in them. For he lifted us up into his

Hom. lxxxiii. operis imperfecti. Auth.

Chrysostom calleth the sacrament the sign of Christ's body

[1 The above sentences are collected from Augustine's treatise, Contra Adimantum, Manichæi discipulum; where they are not contiguous; and where, consequently, the construction of the argument was somewhat different. See cap. 12. Tom. VIII. col. 123. § 1. Benedict. ed. col. 124. § 3, and col. 126. § 5.]

[2 So B., but D. *and.*]

[3 But the Opus Imperfectum, only existing in Latin, and only containing fifty-four homilies, is not considered to be a genuine work of Chrysostom's.]

body, which is the bread of life, saying, This is my body; as though he should say, Though this be but bread, yet it signifieth unto thee my body.' Now judge thou, christian reader, whether M. More reporteth right of this man that alleged[4] these holy doctors, or no.

The confutation of the papists' glosses. Auth.

Now have ye the pure understanding of the words of the Lord's supper, confirmed with the old holy doctors; that, "This is my body," is as much to say as, This signifieth my body; and, "This is my blood," is, This signifieth my blood. But yet was there never such manner of speaking in the scripture, 'This is that;' that is to say, 'This is converted and transubstantiated into that;' or, 'This is contained in that;' the thing converted and changed keeping still her form, qualities, quantity, &c.: as to say, This is my body, that is to say, This bread is converted into my body; the bread abiding still in his fashion, taste, colour, weight, &c. For Christ, when he converted water into wine, did not leave the form, colour, and taste, still in the water; for so had it been no changing. But let our covetous converters chop and change bread and wine, till we there feel, see, and taste neither bread nor wine; and then will we believe them, so they bring for them the word of God. For as for their false juggling, we feel it at our fingers' end; we see it, had we but half an eye; we taste[5] it at our tongue's end, and know it with all our wits and understanding so manifestly, that we perceived them openly long ago to be the very antichrists, of whom Christ and his apostles warned us to come in this last time.

The papists are wresters and perverters of the scriptures.

The papists say that the transubstantiation is done by miracles.

And if they say that this conversion is made by miracle; then must every one of them, as oft as he say a mass, make us many a miracle, the very marks of M. More's church. For it is one great miracle that Christ's body should come so suddenly invisible and so oft out of heaven, and that such a miracle as the word of God never knew: another, that so great a body should be contained in so little a place, and that one body should be at once in so many places, and two bodies in one place: another, that it is eaten, neither the eater feeling it, nor the body eaten suffering, nor feeling the teeth of the eater; with as many more marvellous and like miracles, or rather absurdities, of the bread and wine, that there must be the form, colour, taste, weight, broken, &c., and yet neither

[4 So B., but D. *allegeth.*] [5 So D., but B. *cast.*]

to be bread nor wine in our belief, except we will be burned of them, because we believe not their juggling casts. O mischievous miracle-makers! O cruel converters! O bloody vouchers[1]!

But hark, christian reader, and I shall learn thee to know Christ's plain and true miracles from the sleighty juggling of these crafty conveyers. Christ would never have done miracle, had men believed him only by his words: but when he said first these words, "This is my body," no man doubted at them; no man was in any unbelief of them; wherefore these words must needs be plain, single, and pure, without miracle, as these: "The three branches are three days;" without any subtle transubstantiation, such insensible conversion, or any false miracle. Christ wrought all his miracles for the glory of God, to declare himself both God and man; so that all Christ's miracles were comprehended under man's senses or common wits, which bring in such knowledge unto the understanding: as, when he changed water into wine, the miracle was first received with the sight, open at the eye, tasted with the mouth, and so conveyed unto the understanding; and now, though we neither see nor taste that miracle, yet we hear it, see it, read it, and so understand that it was once a miracle done of Christ. When he restored the sight to the blind, healed the lame, cleansed the leprous, reared the dead; all was seen, heard, and so comprehended under our most surest[2] senses, that his very enemies were compelled to confess them for miracles. But our miracle-makers, that make daily so oft and so many, are so far from this clear point, that their miracles in this matter be not, nor never shall be, contained nor comprehended under any of our five wits; but they rather delude and deceive both sight, taste, feeling, hearing, and smelling, yea, our faith and understanding too. Beware, therefore, of those mischievous miracle-makers for their own glory and profit; and will kill thee too, if thou believest not their lies. Beware, I say, of those merchants, that will sell thee wares which they will not suffer thee to see, nor to taste, nor to touch; but when they shew thee white, thou must believe it is black. If they give thee bread, thou must believe it, without any word of thy faith, that it is Christ's body, and that of their own making. If thou taste, see, and feel it bread,

All true miracles are done to set forth the glory of God.

Christ did miracles, to declare himself to be both God and man.

All Christ's miracles were such as were comprehended unto our senses.

The doctrine and tyranny of the papists.

[1 So B., but D. *butchers*.] [2 So B., but D. *sweet*.]

yet thou must say it is none; though the scripture calleth it bread twenty times. Beware, beware, I say, of antichrist! "whose coming," saith Paul, ("he is come already," saith John, "now are there many antichrists,") "shall be after the working of Satan, with an almighty power, with false signs and wonders, lying miracles, and with all deceit of unrighteousness, &c." 2 Thess. ii. 1 John ii.

To be too curious in so plain a sacrament and sign; to cavil Christ's clear words with sophistical sophisms; and to trifle out the truth with taunts and mocks, as M. More doth, is no christian manner. And if our papists and scholastical sophisters will object and make answer to this supper of the Lord, bringing in for them their unwritten words, dead dreams[3], (for we have compelled More with shame to flit from the scripture,) strewed with their vain, strange terms, which Paul damneth, and giveth Timothy warning of; I shall, by God's grace, so set the almighty word of God against them, that all Christen shall see falsehood and deceit in this sacrament; and so disclose their devilish doctrine and sleighty juggling, that all, that can read English, shall see the truth of God's word openly bear down their unwritten lies. For it is verily the thing that I desire, even to be written against in this matter: for I have the solutions of all their objections ready, and know right well that the more they stir this sacrament, the broader shall their lies be spread, the more shall their falsehood appear, and the more gloriously shall the truth triumph; as it is to see this day by the long contention, in this same and other like articles, which the papists have so long abused, and how More his lies utter the truth every day more and more. For had he not come begging for the clergy from purgatory with his supplication of souls; and Rastel and Rochester, had they not so wisely played their parts, purgatory, peradventure, had served them yet another year; neither had it so soon have been quenched, nor the poor soul and proctor there been, with his bloody bishop christen-catte[4], so far conjured into his own Utopia with a satchel about his neck, to gather for the proud priests *in synagoga papistica*[5].

More driven from the manifest and plain scriptures.

The contentious and wicked doctrine of the papists hath provoked the light of God's truth to be set forth to the understanding of the people.

[3 So B., but D. has *deeds and dreams*.]

[4 The editor has not been able to discover to what this singular name alludes.]

[5 In the synagogue of papists.]

When Christ was ascended into heaven, and had sent his apostles the Spirit of truth, to lead them into all truth pertaining unto our salvation, even unto him that said, "I am the truth;" of which truth he instructed them after his resurrection, (Luke xxiv.) and they had preached the same truth now in Jerusalem (Acts ii.); at which preaching there were that received their words, and were baptized, about three thousand; his apostles, remembering how their master Christ at his last supper did institute, and leave them this holy sacrament of his body and blood, to be celebrated and done in his remembrance among such as had received his gospel, were baptized, had professed his faith, and would persevere in his religion, did now in this first congregation celebrate the Lord's supper, breaking the bread, and eating it, as Christ did teach them; which supper Luke and Paul called afterward the breaking of the bread; as Acts ii., saying, that "they which gladly had now received Peter's act[1], and were baptized, were persevering in the doctrine of the apostles, and in the communion, and in the breaking of the bread, and in prayer;" which sacrament was now a token of the perseverance in their christian religion now professed. Of this breaking of bread Luke, writing of Paul coming unto Troas, saith also that there upon a sabbath-day, "when the disciples were come together unto the breaking of the bread, Paul made a sermon, during[2] to midnight," &c. And that this was no common nor profane use, but an heavenly sacrament, and a reverent rite and usage, the circumstances of the action declare, both in Luke and Paul, shewing it to be the very institution that Christ ordained at his supper; Paul thus reciting this breaking of the bread, saying, "The bread which we break, is it not the fellowship of the body of Christ?" that is to say, 'Doth it not signify us to be the body of Christ; that is, his congregation and people?' as do the words following declare, (Paul adding the cause,) saying, "For we being many are altogether signified by the one loaf to be one body, for that we be partakers of the same bread." Also before he calleth in the same supper the cup of thanksgiving, "the fellowship of the blood of Christ;" that is to say, 'the congregation redeemed with Christ's blood.'

Luke xxiv. How the apostles did in the first congregation celebrate the Lord's supper. Acts ii.

Acts xx.

This holy sacrament therefore, would God it were re-

[1 An academic term for, The maintenance of any proposition.]
[2 Enduring, continuing.]

stored unto the pure use, as the apostles used it in their time! Would God the secular princes, which should be the very pastors and head rulers of their congregations, committed unto their cure, would first command or suffer the true preachers of God's word to preach the gospel purely and plainly, with discreet liberty, and constitute over each particular parish such curates as can and would preach the word, and that once or twice in the week, appointing unto their flock certain days, after their discretion and zeal to God-ward, to come together to celebrate the Lord's supper! At the which assembly the curate would propone and declare them, first, this text of Paul, 1 Cor. xi: 'So oft as ye shall eat this bread, and drink of this cup, see that ye be joyous, praise, and give thanks, preaching the death of the Lord,' &c.: which declared, and every one exhorted to prayer, he would preach them purely Christ to have died and been offered upon the altar of the cross for their redemption; which only oblation to be sufficient sacrifice, to peace the Father's wrath, and to purge all the sins of the world. Then to excite them with all humble diligence, every man unto the knowledge of himself and his sins, and to believe and trust to the forgiveness in Christ's blood; and for this so incomparable benefit of our redemption (which were sold bondmen to sin,) to give thanks unto God the Father for so merciful a deliverance through the death of Jesus Christ, every one, some singing, and some saying devoutly, some or other psalm, or prayer of thanksgiving, in the mother tongue. Then, the bread and wine set before them, in the face of the church, upon the table of the Lord, purely and honestly laid, let him declare to the people the significations of those sensible signs; what the action and deed moveth, teacheth, and exhorteth them unto; and that the bread and wine be no profane common signs, but holy sacraments, reverently to be considered, and received with a deep faith and remembrance of Christ's death, and of the shedding of his blood for our sins; those sensible things to represent us the very body and blood of Christ, so that while every man beholdeth with his corporal eye those sensible sacraments, the inward eye of his faith may see, and believe stedfastly, Christ offered and dying upon the cross for his sins, how his body was broken and his blood shed for us, and hath given himself whole for us, himself to be all ours, and whatsoever he did

The sacrament is not used in these days as it was in the time of the apostles.

A good doctrine for all such ministers as have cure of souls, to use to their flock.

Thanksgiving.

The bread and wine are not profane, but sacraments to holy life.

1 Cor. i. to serve us, as to be made for us, of his Father, our righteousness, our wisdom, holiness, redemption, satisfaction, &c.

A wholesome and good lesson, namely for all ministers.

Then let this preacher exhort them lovingly to draw near unto this table of the Lord, and that not only bodily, but also, their hearts purged by faith, garnished with love and innocency, every man to forgive each other unfeignedly, and to express, or at leastwise to endeavour them to follow, that love which Christ did set before our eyes at his last supper, when he offered himself willingly to die for us his enemies; which incomparable love to commend, bring in Paul's arguments, so that thus this flock may come together, and be joined into one body, one spirit, and one people. This done, let him come down, and, accompanied honestly with other ministers, come forth reverently unto the Lord's table, the congregation now set round about it, and also in their other convenient seats, the pastor exhorting them all to pray for grace, faith, and love, which all this sacrament signifieth and putteth them in mind of. Then let there be read apertly and distinctly the sixth chapter of John, in their mother tongue; whereby they may clearly understand, what it is to eat Christ's flesh and to drink his blood. This done, and some brief prayer and praise sung or read, let one or other minister read the eleventh chapter of the first to the Corinthians, that the people might perceive clearly, of those words, the mystery of this Christ's supper, and wherefore he did institute it.

Rom. v.

At the ministration of the sacrament, let the minister exhort all men to have faith and love, and to pray for grace.

A good and necessary exhortation to be made to the people at the time they receive the communion.

These with such like preparations and exhortations had, I would every man present should profess the articles of our faith openly in our mother tongue, and confess his sins secretly unto God; praying entirely that he would now vouchsafe to have mercy upon him, receive his prayers, glue his heart unto him by faith and love, increase his faith, give him grace to forgive and to love his neighbour as himself, to garnish his life with pureness and innocency, and to confirm him in all goodness and virtue. Then again it behoveth the curate to warn and exhort every man deeply to consider, and expend with himself, the signification and substance of this sacrament, so that he sit not down an hypocrite and a dissembler, since God is searcher of heart and reins, thoughts and affects[1]; and see that he come not to the holy table of

[1 So D., in B. *effects.*]

the Lord without that faith which he professed at his baptism, and also that love which the sacrament preacheth and testifieth unto his heart, lest he, now found guilty of the body and blood of the Lord, (that is to wit, a dissembler with Christ's death, and slanderous to the congregation, the body and blood of Christ,) receive his own damnation. And here let every man fall down upon his knees, saying secretly with all devotion their *Paternoster* in English; their curate, as example, kneeling down before them: which done, let him take the bread and eft the wine in the sight of the people, hearing him with a loud voice, with godly gravity, and after a christian religious reverence, rehearsing distinctly the words of the Lord's supper in their mother tongue; and then distribute it to the ministers, which, taking the bread with great reverence, will divide it to the congregation, every man breaking and reaching it forth to his next neighbour and member of the mystic body of Christ, other ministers following with the cups, pouring forth and dealing them the wine, all together thus being now partakers of one bread and one cup, the thing thereby signified and preached printed fast in their hearts. But in this meanwhile must the minister or pastor be reading the communication that Christ had with his disciples after his supper, beginning at the washing of their feet; so reading till the bread and wine be eaten and drunken, and all the action done: and then let them all fall down on their knees, giving thanks highly unto God the Father for this benefit and death of his Son, whereby now by faith every man is assured of remission of his sins; as this blessed sacrament had put them in mind, and preached it them in this outward action and supper. This done, let every man commend and give themselves whole to God, and depart.

None may come to the communion without the wedding garment of faith.

John xii

Thanksgiving to God.

I would have hereto put my name, good reader, but I know well that thou regardest not who writeth, but what is written: thou esteemest the word of the verity, and not of the author. And as for M. Mocke[2], whom the verity most offendeth, and doth but mock it out when he cannot soil it, he knoweth my name well enough. For the devil, his

[2 So B., but in all subsequent editions Mocke has been changed to More.]

Those words of his are in his book, that he made for the poor souls in purgatory. Auth.

guardian, as himself saith, cometh every day into purgatory, (if there be any day at all), "with his enmious[1] and envious laughter, gnashing his teeth and grinning," telling the proctor, with his pope's prisoners, whatsoever is here done or written against them, both his person and name too[2]. And he is now, I dare say, as great with his guardian as ever he was.

Mark xiii.

If any man tell you, Lo! here is Christ, or there is he, believe him not; for there shall arise false Christs, false anointed, giving great miracles. Take heed; I have told ye before: if they therefore tell ye, Lo! he is in the desert, go not forth; lo! he is in the privy pix[3], believe it not.

[1 So B., but D. *heinous*.]

[2 See Vol. I. p. 237, and Vol. II. p. 297. In More's 'Supplication of Souls,' written to counteract the effect of Mr Simon Fish's 'Supplication of Beggars,' More continually calls Fish 'this beggar's proctor;' and represents one of the souls in purgatory as saying of him, "He is named and boasted among us by the evil angel of his, our and your ghostly enemy, the devil; which, as soon as he had set him at work with that pernicious book, ceased not to come hither, and boast it among us: but with his enmious and envious laughter, gnashing the teeth and grinning, he told us that his people" [i. e. the reformers] "had by the advice and counsel of him" [i. e. the devil], "and of some heretics almost as evil as he, made such a book for beggars, that it should make us beg long ere we got aught." More's Works, pp. 288-9. The 'Supplication of Beggars' is printed in Foxe, Vol. IV. p. 529—64. Ed. Lond. 1837. It was originally transmitted to England from the continent, whither Fish had fled; so that More would suppose that Tyndale and Joye were privy to its composition.]

[3 A small box, generally made of precious metal and richly ornamented, in which the consecrated wafer called the host, i. e. *hostia* or victim, meaning the Lord Christ, was shut up and suspended over the altar.]

THE TESTAMENT OF WILLIAM TRACY EXPOUNDED.

[INTRODUCTORY NOTICE.

William Tracy, Esq., whose last will and testament gave occasion for the following commentary upon it, and had previously been the subject of a similar commentary by Frith, was the head of a family which had long been seated at Todington, in Glocestershire. Camden assumes without offering any proof, that the William Tracy whose name appears among the brutal murderers of Thomas à Becket was of the same stock[1]. Tyndale's paternal home was not far from Todington; and we shall find him bearing testimony, that in the days of his youth Mr Tracy was already a learned man, and more conversant with the writings of Augustine than any doctor in England known to our reformer, notwithstanding Tyndale's long sojourn in the universities. The fruits of this course of reading appear in his will; and especially in his declaring that he would not employ any part of his property to procure any man's help for his soul after his death. The Romish ecclesiastics had succeeded in establishing it for a rule, that if any person, possessing disposable property, should die without bequeathing part of it to the church, he should be considered as dying without confessing himself a sinner, and consequently as excommunicated, and unworthy to receive christian burial[2]. This rule had received a check from the lay-courts in France as early as 1409[3], when that country lay buried in popish darkness; and in the year previous to Mr Tracy's making his will, the English parliament had been allowed to put a check upon the kindred exaction of mortuaries. Hence, on the one hand, Mr Tracy's executors appear not to have shrunk from giving publicity to the testimony he had left in their hands, of his regarding masses for the dead as worthless; and on the other the clergy were not slow in manifesting that they regarded the dissemination of that testimony as a mischief which must be vigorously resisted. We shall see that Mr Tracy put his signature to his will in October, 1530; and in Foxe's extracts from the bishop of London's registers for that same year, which would extend in ecclesiastical reckoning to March 25th, 1531, we find that 'Thomas Philip was delivered by Sir Thomas More to bishop Stokesley by indenture,' when 'it was objected to him that he, being searched in the Tower, had found about him Tracy's testament; and in his chamber was found cheese and butter in Lent time. Neither

[1 Camden's Britannia, Glocestershire, p. 239, ed. 1695.]
[2 Montesq. de l'Esprit des Loix. l. 28, ch. 41.]
[3 Id. and Blackstone's Com. Vol. II. p. 425.]

could there anything be proved clearly against him, but only Tracy's testament, and his butter in Lent.' And presently afterwards Foxe copies another entry of a similar character, dated 1531, relating to one 'William Smith, a tailor.' Foxe, Vol. v. pp. 29. and 38.

Irritated by these discoveries of the extensive circulation of his will, the clergy presently sat in judgment on the deceased testator, and pronounced him excommunicated; for that he had left no part of his property to procure prayers for his soul. Now it was peremptorily enjoined in their law (Decret. Greg. Lib. I. Tit. XXVIII. c. 12.), that if an excommunicated person should, by any accident, have been buried in any ecclesiastical cemetery, his bones, if still distinguishable, should be dug up and cast away. Dr Parker, the official of the Italian absentee bishop of Worcester, accordingly, dug up and burnt the mouldering corpse of Mr Tracy (Biograph. not. of Tyndale, p. xviii.); and this without waiting, as the statute law required, for the issuing of a writ in the king's name, *de hæretico comburendo*. For this illegal proceeding Mr Richard Tracy, two years after, instituted a suit against Parker, and obtained a verdict against him. The penalties consequent on such verdicts were regarded, in those days, as an important source of revenue; and the king's courts were consequently wont to impose them with no sparing hand. Dr Parker was fined £300, according to Hall, which would be not less than a fine of £4500 at the present time.]

[Title and Introduction composed by Foxe, for the reprint in Day's edition.]

THE TESTAMENT

OF

MASTER WILLIAM TRACY, Esquire,

EXPOUNDED BY

WILLIAM TYNDALE;

WHEREIN THOU SHALT PERCEIVE WITH WHAT CHARITY THE CHANCELLOR OF WORCESTER BURNED, WHEN HE TOOK UP THE DEAD CARCASS, AND MADE ASHES OF IT AFTER IT WAS BURIED. 1535.

TO THE READER.

Thou shalt understand, most dear reader, that after William Tyndale was so Judasly betrayed by an Englishman, a scholar of Louvain, whose name is Philips, there were certain things of his doing found, which he had intended to have put forth to the furtherance of God's word; among which was this testament of M. Tracy, expounded by himself, whereunto was annexed the exposition of the same, of John Frith's doing and own hand-writing, which I have caused to be put in print, to the intent that all the world should see how earnestly the canonists and spiritual lawyers (which be the chief rulers under bishops in every diocese, insomuch that in every cathedral church the dean, chancellor, and archdeacon, are commonly doctors or bachelors of law) do endeavour themselves justly to judge, and spiritually to give sentence according to charity, upon all the acts and deeds done of their diocesans, after the example of the chancellor of Worcester, which, after M. Tracy was buried, (of pure zeal and love hardly) took up the dead carcass and burnt it. Wherefore he did it, it shall evidently appear to the reader in this little treatise: read it therefore, I beseech thee, and judge the spirits of our spiritualty, and pray that the Spirit of him that raised up Christ may once inhabit them, and mollify their hearts, and so illumine them, that they may both see and shew true light, and no longer to resist God nor his truth. Amen.

THE TESTAMENT ITSELF.

In the name of God, Amen. I William Tracy, of Todington, in the county of Glocester, esquire, make my testament and last will, as hereafter followeth.

First, and before all other thing, I commit me unto God, and to his mercy, trusting without any doubt or mistrust, that by his grace and the merits of Jesus Christ, and by the virtue of his passion, and of his resurrection, I have and shall have remission of my sins, and resurrection of body and soul, according as it is written, (Job xiv.) "I believe that my Redeemer liveth, and that in the last day I shall rise out of the earth, and in my flesh shall see my Saviour." This my hope is laid up in my bosom.

And as touching the wealth of my soul, the faith that I have taken and rehearsed is sufficient (as I suppose) without any other man's work or works. My ground and my belief is, that there is but one God, and one mediator between God and man, which is Jesus Christ: so that I do accept none in heaven, nor in earth, to be my mediator between me and God, but only Jesus Christ; all other be but petitioners in receiving of grace, but none able to give influence of grace. And therefore will I bestow no part of my goods for that intent, that any man should say or do to help my soul: for therein I trust only to the promise of God, "He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved, and he that believeth not shall be damned." (Mark, the last chapter.)

And touching the burying of my body, it availeth me not what be done thereto; wherein St Augustine, *De cura agenda pro mortuis*[1], saith, that 'they are rather the solace of them that live, than the wealth or comfort of them that are departed[2]:' and therefore I remit it only to the discretion of mine executors.

[1 "Of care to be taken for the dead." Such is the title of a treatise written by Augustine, and dedicated to Paulinus, bishop of Nola, one of the most conspicuous characters in the church of that day, who had asked him, "Whether it might be profitable to any one, after his death, to have his body buried near the honoured tomb" (memoriam), "of some saint."—August. De cura agenda, &c. Tom. VI. col. 515. A. Memoriæ vel monumenta dicuntur ea quæ insignita fiunt sepulcra mortuorum. Id. col. 519. C. cap. VI.]

[2 Ista omnia, id est curatio funeris, conditio sepulturæ, pompa exsequiarum, magis sunt vivorum solatia quam subsidia mortuorum.—Id. col. 517. G.]

And touching the distribution of my temporal goods, my purpose is, by the grace of God, to bestow them to be accepted as fruits of faith: so that I do not suppose that my merit be by good bestowing of them; but my merit is the faith of Jesus Christ only, by which faith such works are good, according to the words of our Lord, (Matt. xxv.) "I was hungry, and thou gavest me to eat;" and it followeth, "that ye have done to the least of my brethren ye have done to me," &c. And ever we should consider the true sentence, that 'a good work maketh not a good man, but a good man maketh a good work:' for faith maketh the man both good and righteous; for "a righteous man liveth by faith" (Rom. i.), and, "whatsoever springeth not out of faith is sin" (Rom. xiv.).

And all my temporal goods that I have not given, or delivered, or not given by writing of mine own hand, bearing the date of this present writing, I do leave and give to Margaret my wife, and to Richard my son, which I make mine executors. Witness this mine own hand, the tenth day of October, in the twenty-second year of the reign of king Henry the eighth[3].

TYNDALE'S EXPOSITION.

Now let us examine the parts of this testament, sentence by sentence. A description of God.

First, to commit ourselves to God above all is the first of all precepts; and the first stone in the foundation of our faith, that we believe and put our trust in one God, one all true, one almighty, all good, and all merciful, cleaving fast to his truth, might, mercy, and goodness, surely certified and fully persuaded that he is our God, yea ours, and to us all true, without all falsehood and guile, and cannot fail in his promises; and to us almighty, that his will cannot be let, to fulfil all the truth that he hath promised us; and to us all good, and all merciful, whatsoever we have done, and howsoever grievously we have trespassed, so that we come to him the way that he hath appointed; which way is Jesus Christ. Jesus Christ the only way to his Father.

[3 The twenty-second of Henry VIII. began with April 21, 1530, and ended April 20, 1531.]

only, as we shall see followingly. This first clause, then, is the first commandment, or at the least the first sentence in the first commandment, and the first article of our creed.

And that this trust and confidence in the mercy of God is through Jesus Christ, is the second article of our creed, confirmed and testified throughout all scripture. That Christ bringeth us into this grace, Paul proveth, (Rom. v.) saying, "Justified by faith we are at peace with God through Jesus Christ our Lord; by whom we have an entering in unto this grace in which we stand." And, (Eph. iii.) "By whom," saith Paul, "we have a bold entering in through the faith that is in him:" and in the second of the said epistle, "By him we have an entering in unto the Father;" and a little before in the same chapter, "He is our peace." And John, in the first chapter, "Behold the Lamb of God which taketh away the sin of the world:" which sin was the bush that stopped the entering in, and kept us out; and the sword wherewith was kept the entering unto the tree of life from Adam and all his offspring. And in the second of the first of Peter, "Which bare our sins in his body," and, "by whose stripes we are made whole." "By whom we have redemption through his blood, even the forgiveness of our sins" (Colos. i. and Ephes. i.). And, (Rom. iv.) "He was delivered for our sins, and rose again for our justifying."

The belief of the resurrection is an article of our faith.

And concerning the resurrection, it is an article of our faith, and proved there sufficiently; and that it shall be by the power of Christ, is also the open scripture (John vi.): "This is the will of my Father which sent me, that I lose nothing of all that he hath given me, but that I raise it up again in the last day." And again, "I am the resurrection" (John xi.).

Faith is sufficient to justify us.

That this lively faith is sufficient to justification, without adding to of any more help, is this wise proved: The promiser is God; of whom Paul saith, (Rom. viii.) "If God be on our side, what matter maketh it who be against us?" He is thereto all good, all merciful, all true, and almighty; wherefore sufficient to be believed by his oath: moreover Christ, in whom the promise is made, hath received all power in heaven and in earth (Matt. the last). He hath also a perpetual priesthood, and therefore able perpetually to save (Heb. vii.).

And that "there is but one mediator, Christ," as saith

Paul (1 Tim. ii.). And by that word understand an atonemaker, a peacemaker, and bringer into grace and favour, having full power so to do. And that Christ is so, is proved at the full. It is written, (John iii.) "The Father loveth the Son, and hath given all into his hand." And "he that believeth the Son hath everlasting life; and he that believeth not the Son shall not see life, but the wrath of God abideth upon him." "All things are given me of my Father" (Luke x.). And "all whosoever call on the name of the Lord shall be saved" (Acts ii.). "Of his fulness have we all received" (John i.). "There is no other name given to man in which we must be saved" (Acts iv.). And again, "Unto his name bear all the prophets record, that by his name shall all that believe in him receive remission" (Acts x.). "In him dwelleth all the fulness of God bodily" (Col. ii.). "All whatsoever my Father hath are mine" (John xvi.). "Whatsoever ye ask in my name, that will I do for you" (John xiv.). "One Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and Father of all, which is above all, through all, and in you all" (Ephes. iv.). There is but one whose servant I am, to do his will; but one that shall pay me my wages. There is but one to whom I am bound; *ergo*, but one that hath power over me to damn or save me. I will add to this Paul's argument, (Gal. iii.). God sware unto Abraham four hundred years before the law was given, that we should be saved by Christ. *Ergo*, the law given four hundred years after cannot disannul that covenant. So dispute I. Christ, when he had suffered his passion, and was risen again and entered into his glory, was sufficient for his apostles, without any other means or help; *ergo*, the holiness of no saint since hath diminished aught of that his power, but that he is as full sufficient now: for the promise is as deeply made to us as to them. Moreover, the treasure of his mercy was laid up in Christ for all that should believe, before the world was made; *ergo*, nothing that hath happened since hath changed the purpose of the invariable God.

Christ the only mediator between God and man.

Arguments proving our salvation in Christ.

Moreover, to exclude the blind imagination, falsely called faith, of them that give themselves to vice without resistance, (affirming that they have no power to do otherwise, but that God hath so made them, and therefore must save them, they not intending or purposing to mend their living, but sinning with whole consent and full lust,) he declareth what faith he

The false faith of the down-falling sinner.

meaneth, two manner of ways. First, by that he saith, "whosoever believeth and is baptized shall be saved:" by which words he declareth evidently, that he meaneth that faith that is in the promise made upon the appointment between God and us, that we should keep his law to the uttermost of our power; that is, he that believeth in Christ for the remission of sin, and is baptized to do the will of Christ, and to keep his law of love, and to mortify the flesh, that man shall be saved: and so is the imagination of these swine, that will not leave wallowing themselves in every mire and puddle, clean excluded; for God never made promise, but upon an appointment or covenant, under which whosoever will not come can be no partaker of the promise. True faith in Christ giveth power to love the law of God: for it is written, (John, the first,) "He gave them power to be the sons of God, in that they believe in his name." Now, to be the son of God is to love righteousness, and hate unrighteousness, and so to be like thy Father. Hast thou then no power to love the law? so hast thou no faith in Christ's blood. And, (Rom. iii.) "We set up and maintain the law through faith." Why so? For the preaching of faith ministereth the Spirit (Gal. iii., and 2 Cor. iii.). And the Spirit looseth the bands of Satan, and giveth power to love the law, and also to do it. For saith Paul, (Rom. viii.) "If the Spirit of him that raised up Jesus dwell in you, then will he that raised up Jesus quicken your mortal bodies by the means of his Spirit dwelling in you."

Faith in the promises between God and us saveth our souls.

God's promises have covenants annexed unto them, the breakers whereof are excluded from the promise.

'Ah well' (wilt thou say), 'if I must profess the law, and work; *ergo*, faith alone saveth me not.' Be not deceived with sophistry; but withdraw thy cares from words, and consider the thing in thine heart. Faith justifieth thee; that is, bringeth remission of all sins, and setteth thee in the state of grace before all works, and getteth thee power to work before thou couldst work. But if thou wilt not go back again, but continue in grace, and come to that salvation and glorious resurrection of Christ, thou must work and join works to thy faith, in will and deed too, if thou have time and leisure; and, as oft as thou fallest, set thee on thy faith again, without help of works. And although, when thou art reconciled and restored to grace, works be required, yet is not that reconciling and grace the benefit of the works that follow; but

An objection of our adversaries against justification by faith.

A compendious declaration of our justification by faith.

clean contrary, that forgiveness of thy sins, and restoring to favour, deserve the works that follow. Though when the king, after that sentence of death is given upon a murderer, hath pardoned him at the request of some of his friends, works be required of him that he henceforth keep the king's laws, if he will continue in his grace's favour, in which he now standeth; yet the benefit of his life proceedeth not of the deserving of the works that follow, but of the king's goodness and favour of his friends; yea, and that benefit, and gift of his life, deserve the works that follow. Though the father chastise the child, yet is the child no less bound to obey, and to do the will of the father. If when the father pardoneth it, the works that follow deserve that favour, then must the works that the correction followed have deserved favour also; and then was the father unrighteous to chastise it. All whatsoever thou art able to do, to please God withal, is thy duty to do, though thou hadst never sinned. If it be thy duty, how can it then be the deserving of the mercy and grace that went before? Now, that mercy was the benefit of God thy Father through the deserving of the Lord Christ, which hath bought thee with the price of his blood.

A similitude of an earthly king pardoning a condemned person.

And again, when he saith that 'he purposeth to bestow his goods, to be accepted as fruits of faith,' it is evident that he meaneth that living faith which professeth the law of God, and is the mother of all good works, yea, and nurse thereto.

Another cavillation which they might make in the second part, where he admitteth no other mediator but Christ only, nor will give of his goods to bind any man to any feigned observance for the help of his soul, when he were whole in the kingdom of Christ, clean delivered, both body and soul, from the dominion of Satan (as the scripture testifieth all that die in Christ to be), is this: they will say, that he held that none should pray for him save Christ, and that we be not bound to pray one for another, nor ought to desire the prayers of another man. That he excludeth, in that he saith all others be but petitioners: by which words he plainly confesseth, that other may and ought for to pray, and that we may and ought to desire other to pray for us; but meaneth that we may not put our trust and confidence in their prayer, as though they gave of themselves that which they desire for us in their petitions, and so give them the thanks, and ascribe to their merits

The prayers of the faithful for his brother taking effect, thanks therefore must wholly be attributed to the giver.

that which is given us in the name of our master Christ, as the deservings of his blood. Christ is my Lord, and hath deserved and also obtained power, to give me all that can be desired for me; and all that other desire for me, is desired in Christ's name, and given at the merits of his blood. All the honour then, trust, confidence, and thanks, pertain to him also. Some will haply say, How should I desire another to pray for me, and not trust to his prayer? Verily, even as I desire my neighbour to help me at my need, and yet trust not to him. Christ has commanded us to love each other. Now when I go or desire help, I put my trust in God, and complain to God first, and say, 'Lo, Father! I go to my brother, to ask help in thy name. Prepare the heart of him against I come, that he may pity me, and help me, for thy sake,' &c. Now if my brother remember his duty and help me, I received it of God, and give God the thanks, which moved the heart of my brother, and gave my brother a corage[1] to help me, and wherewith to do it, and so hath helped me by my brother. And I love my brother again, and say, 'Lo, Father! I went to my brother in thy name, and he hath helped me for thy sake: wherefore, O Father! be thou as merciful to him at his need, as he hath been to me, for thy sake, at my need.' Lo! now, as my brother did his duty when he helped me, so do I my duty when I pray for him again: and as I might not have put my trust and confidence in my brother's help, so may he not in my prayers. I am sure that God will help me by his promise; but am not sure that my brother will help me, though it be his duty. So am I sure that God will hear me, whatsoever I ask in Christ's name, by his promise; but am not sure that my brother will pray for me, or that he hath a good heart to God.

All our help is from above, for man cannot help but when God prepareth his heart.

'No; but the saints in heaven cannot but pray and be heard.' No more can the saints in earth but pray and be heard neither. Moses, Samuel, David, Noah, Elias, Elisæus, Esaias, Daniel, and all the prophets, prayed and were heard; yet were none of those wicked, that would not put their trust in God according to their doctrine and preaching, partakers of their prayers in the end. And as damnable as it is for the poor to trust in the riches of the richest upon earth, so damnable is it also to leave the covenant made in Christ's blood,

Praying to saints is damnable.

[1 See Vol. I. p. 417.]

and to trust in the saints of heaven. They that be in heaven know the elect that trust in Christ's blood, and profess the law of God, and for them only pray; and these wicked idolaters, which have no trust in the covenant of God, nor serve God in the spirit, nor in the gospel of Christ's blood, but after their blind imagination, choosing them every man a sundry saint to be their mediator, to trust to and to be saved by their merits, do the saints abhor and defy: and their prayers and offerings are to the saints as acceptable and pleasant, as was the prayer and the offering of Simon Magus to Peter. Acts viii.

Saints abhor them that pray unto them.

Moreover, the saints in their most cumbrance are most comforted and most able to comfort other, as Paul testifieth (2 Cor. i.); insomuch that St Stephen and St James prayed for them that slew them. St Martin preached and comforted his desperate brethren even unto the last breath[2]; and likewise, as stories make mention, did innumerable more. Yea, and I have known of simple and unlearned persons, and that of some that were great sinners, which, at the hour of death, have fallen flat on the blood of Christ, and given no room to other men's either prayers or preachings; but have as strongly trusted in Christ's blood as ever did Peter or Paul, and have thereto preached it to others, and exhorted others so mightily that an angel of heaven could not mend them. Who then should resist God, that he might not give the same grace to M. Tracy, which was a learned man, and better seen in the works of St Austin twenty years before he died, than ever I knew doctor in England, but that he must then faint and shrink, when most need is to be strong, and fear the pope's purgatory, and trust to the prayer of priests dearly paid for? I dare say that he prayed for the priests when he died, that God would convert a great many of them; and if he had known of any good man among them that had needed, he would have given; and if he had known of any lack of priests, he would have given to

M. Tracy studious in St Austin.

[2 Martin, bishop of Tours, at the close of the fourth century, when dying, "Discipulis indicavit se jam resolvi; illis autem gregem Domini desolandum flentibus, oravit ad Dominum ut, si adhuc populo suo necessarius esset, ipsum, laborem non recusantem, adhuc in vita præsenti dimitteret. Oculis ac manibus in cœlum semper intentus invictum ab oratione spiritum non relaxabat."—Petr. de Natalibus, Lib. x. c. 47. Compare the account of him given in Dr Gilly's 'Life and Times of Vigilantius,' chap. v.]

maintain more. But now, since there be more than enough, and have more than every man a sufficient living, how should he have given them, to hire their prayers, but of pure mistrust in Christ's blood? If robbing of widows' houses under pretence of long prayers be damnable (Matt. xxiii.), then is it damnable also for widows to suffer themselves to be robbed by the long pattering of hypocrites, through mistrust in Christ's blood. Yea, and is it not damnable to maintain such abomination? Now when this damnation is spread over all, how can we give them that have enough already? or how can they, that have enough already, take more under the name of praying, and not harden the people more in this damnable damnation?

And concerning the burying of his body, he allegeth St Austin: neither is there any man, think I, so mad to affirm that the outward pomp of the body should help the soul. Moreover, what greater sign of infidelity is there, than to care, at the time of death, with what pomp the carcass shall be carried to the grave? He denieth not but that a christian man should be honourably buried, namely for the honour and hope of the resurrection; and therefore committed that care to his dear executors, his son and his wife, which he wist would in that part do sufficient, and leave nothing of the use of the country undone, but the abuse.

Burials must be celebrated honourably, for the hope of our resurrection.

And that bestowing of a great part of his goods (while he yet lived) upon the poor, to be thankful for the mercy received, without buying and selling with God; that is, without binding those poor unto any other appointed prayers than God hath bound us already, one to pray for another, one to help another, as he hath helped us; but patiently abiding for the blessings that God hath appointed unto all manner good works, trusting faithfully to his promise; thanking, as ye may see by his words, the blood of Christ for the reward promised to his works, and not the goodness of the works, as though he had done more than his duty, or all that; and assigning by writing, unto whom another part should be distributed, and giving the rest to his executors, that no strife should be; which executors were by right the heirs of all that was left to them: these things, I say, are signs evident, not only of a good christian man, but also of a perfect christian man, and of such a one as needed not to be aghast and desperate for fear of the painful pains of purgatory, which whoso feareth as they feign

One must pray for another, and one help another.

A true Christian feareth not the pope's purgatory.

it, cannot but utterly abhor death; seeing that Christ is there no longer thy Lord, after he hath brought thee thither, but thou art excluded from his satisfaction, and must satisfy for thyself alone; and that with suffering pain only, or else tarrying the satisfying of them that shall never satisfy enough for themselves; or gaping for the pope's pardons, which have so great doubts and dangers, what in the mind and intent of the granter, and what in the purchaser, ere they can be truly obtained with all due circumstances, and much less certitude that they have any authority at all. Paul thirsted to be dissolved and to be with Christ; Stephen desired Christ to take his spirit; the prophets also desired God to take their souls from them; and all the saints went with a lusty courage to death, neither fearing or teaching us to fear any such cruelty. Where hath the church then gotten authority to bind us from being so perfect, from having any such faith in the goodness of God our Father and Lord Christ, and to make such perfectness and faith of all heresies the greatest?

Solomon saith in the thirtieth of his proverbs, "Three things are insatiable, and the fourth saith never, It is enough." But there is a fifth, called dame Avarice, with as greedy a gut, as melting a maw, as wide a throat, as gaping a mouth, and with as ravening teeth, as the best; which the more she eateth, the hungrier she is: an unquiet evil, never at rest; a blind monster and a surmising beast, fearing at the fall of every leaf. *Quid non mortalia pectora cogis, Auri sacra fames*[1]*?* What doth not that holy hunger compel them that love this world inordinately to commit? Might that devil's belly be once full, truth should have audience; and words be constructed aright, and taken in the same sense as they be meant.

Though it seem not impossible haply, that there might be a place where the souls might be kept for a space, to be taught and instructed; yet that there should be such a jail as they jangle, and such fashions as they feign, is plainly impossible, and repugnant to the scripture. For when a man is translated utterly out of the kingdom of Satan, and so confirmed in grace that he cannot sin, so burning in love that his lust cannot be plucked from God's will, and being partaker with us of all the promises of God, and under the commandments;

[1 O cursed hunger for gold, to what dost thou not compel the heart of man?]

God granteth all things to the faithful.

what could be denied him in that deep innocency, of his most kind Father, that hath left no mercy unpromised; and asking it thereto in the name of his son Jesus, the child of his heart's lust, which is our Lord, and hath left no mercy undeserved for us; namely when God hath sworn that he will put off righteousness, and be to us a father, and that of all mercy, and hath slain his most dear son Jesus, to confirm his oath?

Finally, seeing that Christ's love taketh all to the best, and nothing is here that may not be well understood (the circumstances declaring in what sense all was meant), they ought to have interpreted it charitably, if aught had been found doubtful or seeming to sound amiss. Moreover, if any thing had been therein that could not have been taken well, yet their part had been to have interpreted it as spoken of idleness[1] of the head, by the reason of sickness; forasmuch as the man was virtuous, wise, and well learned, and of good fame and report, and sound in the faith while he was alive. But if they say he was suspect when he was alive, then is their doing so much the worse, and to be thought that they feared his doctrine when he was alive, and mistrusted their own part, their consciences testifying to them that he held no other doctrine than that was true; seeing they then neither spake nor wrote against him, nor brought him to any examination. Besides that, some merry fellows will think that they ought first to have sent to him, to wit whether he would have revoked, ere they had so despitefully burned the dead body, that could not answer for itself, nor interpret his words, how he meant them; namely the man being of so worshipful and ancient a blood.

But here will I make an end, desiring the reader to look on this thing with indifferent eyes, and judge whether I have expounded the words of this testament as they should seem to signify or not; judge also whether the maker thereof seem not by this work both virtuous and godly: which if it so be, think not that he was the worse, because the dead body was burnt to ashes; but rather learn to know the great desire that hypocrites have to find one craft or other to dash the truth with, and cause it to be counted for heresy of the simple and unlearned people, which are so ignorant they cannot spy their

[1 That is, illness, disorder.]

subtlety. It must needs be heresy, that toucheth any thing their rotten bile; they will have it so, whosoever say nay. Only the eternal God must be prayed to, night and day, to amend them, in whose power it only lieth: who also grant them once earnestly to thirst[2] his true doctrine, contained in the sweet and pure fountains of his scriptures, and in his paths to direct their ways. Amen.

Papists burn both quick and dead, if they touch their rotten sores.

[2 See Vol. I. p. 37. n.]

SPECIMENS

OF

TYNDALE'S VERSIONS

OF DIFFERENT PARTS OF THE HOLY SCRIPTURES.

I. A specimen of his earliest production as a translator of Hebrew; copied from the second edition of his version of Genesis, as printed at Marburg in Hesse, by Hans Luft, and carried through the press in 1534[1].

GENESIS IV. 3.

And it fortuned in processe of tyme, that Cain brought of the frute of the erth, an offeringe vnto the lorde. And Abel, he brought also of the firstlynges of his shepe ād of the fat of them. And the lorde loked vnto Abel and to his offeringe: but vnto Cain and vnto his offeringe, loked he not. And Cain was wroth exceadingly, and loured. And the lorde sayde vnto Cain: why arte thou angry, and why loureste thou? wotest thou not yf thou do well thou shalt receave it? But and yf thou do euell, by and by thy sinne lyeth open in the dore: notwithstondinge let it be subdued unto the, and se thou rule it[2]. And Cain talked with Abel his brother.

And assoone as they were in the feldes Cain fell vpon Abel his brother and slewe him. And the Lorde sayd vnto Cain: where is Abel thy brother? And he sayd: I can not tell, am I my brothers keper? And he sayde: What haste thou done? the voyce of thy brothers bloud cryeth vnto me out of the erth. And now cursed be thou as pertayn-

[1 See Biog. Notice, p. xl., and Anderson's Annals, Vol. II. App. p. viii. for accounts of this translation, and of the copy in the library of the Baptist College, Bristol, of which the text is a transcript.]

[2 In thus rendering verse 7, Tyndale has neither followed the LXX., the Vulgate, nor Luther. The want of a distinction between the masculine and neuter of the pronoun, a defect observable in the Greek and Latin genitives and datives, as well as in the Hebrew, prevents our being able to affirm with positiveness that Tyndale's translation of the last part of the verse is inadmissible; but though the Vulgate agrees with Tyndale in introducing the word *thy* before *sin*, the Hebrew text gives no countenance to its introduction.]

inge to the erth, whiche openned her mouth to receaue thy brothers bloud of thine hande. For when thou tyllest the grounde she shall henceforth not geue hyr power vnto the. A vagabunde and a rennagate shalt thou be vpon the erth.

And Cain sayd vnto the Lorde: my synne is greater, then that it maye be forgeuen. Beholde thou castest me out this daye frō of the face of the erth, and frome thy syght must I hyde my selfe, and I must be wandringe and a vagabunde vpon the erth. Morouer whosoeuer findeth me, will kill me. And the lorde sayd vnto him. Not so but whosoeuer sleyth Cain, shalbe punysshed. vii. folde. And the Lorde put a marke vpon Cain that no man that founde hym, shulde kyll him. And Cain went out from the face of the Lorde and dwelt in the lande Nod, on the east syde of Eden.

II. A specimen of Tyndale's latest labours as a translator of Hebrew; copied from his version of the historical books of the old Testament, as incorporated by Rogers into the Bible called Matthew's, and first published by Grafton the printer in 1537, about ten months after the translator's martyrdom[3].

2 SAMUEL I. 17.

And Dauid sang thys song of mournyng ouer Saul and ouer Jonathas hys sonne, & bad to teache the children of Israel ye staues therof[4]. And Beholde it is wryttē in the [5]boke of

[3 See Biographical Notice, p. lxxiv., and Anderson's Annals, Vol. I. § 14. The original edition from which the text has been copied is that in the Baptist College, Bristol, noticed by Anderson, Vol. II. App. p. ix., where the date is misprinted 1573.]

[4 John Gregorie of Oxford, a learned orientalist of the seventeenth century, whose notes upon some difficulties of scripture went through several editions, has referred in them to Tyndale's translation of this clause, as in his opinion the best; and he has defended its correctness by arguments in proof that קשת, *the bow*, was the title of this elegiac composition. But had Tyndale thought so, he would probably have rendered קשת *this psalm*, or *this song*. It seems more probable, that perceiving קשת to be a derivative from קשש, *conquisivit, collegit*, as now acknowledged by the best lexicographers, he reasonably regarded it as equivalent to the Latin *fasciculus*, and as meaning here the separate divisions, stanzas, or in older language, the staves of the song.]

[5 Marg. note. Some thynke that thys boke remayneth not other some understande by it the fyrst boke of Moses.]

the ryghtwes. The glorye of Israell is slayne upō ye hie hilles: Oh how were ye mightye ouerthrowē? Tell it not in Geth: nor publyshe it in the streates of Askalon: lest the daughters of the Philistines rejoise, & that ye daughters of ye uncircūcised triūphe therof. Ye mountaynes of Gelboe, upon you be nether dew nor raygne, ner feldes whence heaue offeringes come. For there the shildes of ye myghtie were cast from them: the shilde of Saul, as though he had not bene anoynted wyth oyle. The boowe of Jonathas and the swerde of Saul turned neuer backe agayne emptie, from the bloud of the wounded and from the fatte of the mightie warryowres.

Saul and Jonathas louely and pleasaūt in their lyues, were in their deethes not deuided, men swiftter then Egles and stronger then Lyons. Ye daughters of Israel, wepe ouer Saul, whych clothed you in purple & garmentes of pleasure, and[1] bordered youre rayment with ornamentes of goulde. How were ye mightye slayne in battell? Jonathas on the hie hilles was wounded to deeth. Woo is me for the my brother Jonathas: delectable to me wast thou excedyng. Thy loue to me was wonderfull, passing ye loue of wemē. How were thy[2] myghtie ouerthrowen, & how were the wepons of warre forloren.

III. A specimen of Tyndale's labours as a translator of Greek; from the earliest edition of his version of the new Testament printed at Worms, in 1525, and now in the library of the Baptist College, Bristol[3].

1 CORINTHIANS XIII.

Though I speake with the tong^s^ of men ād angels, and yet had no love, I were evē as soundynge brasse: and as a tynklynge Cynball. and though I coulde prophesy, and vnderstode all secretes, and all knowledge: yee, if I had all fayth so that I coulde move mountayns oute of there plac^s^,

[1 Marg. note. That is, decked you wyth golden ornamētes.]

[2 Apparently an error of the press. In Matthew's Bible, 1549, it is *the*.]

[3 See Biog. Notice, pp. xxx. xxxi., and Anderson's Annals, Vol. I. § 2, and Vol. II. App. p. vii. The editor has to thank the Rev. F. W. Gotch for collating these specimens with the originals in the library of the Baptist College.]

and yet had no love, I were nothynge. And. though I bestowed all my gooddes to fede the povre, and though I gave my body even that I burned, ād yet have no love, it profeteth me nothynge.

Love suffreth lōge, and is corteous. love envieth nott. Love doth nott frawardly, swelleth not, dealeth not dishonestly, seketh nott her awne, is not provoked to anger, thynketh not evyll reioyseth not in iniquite: but reioyseth in the trueth, suffreth all thynge, beleveth all thyng^{s} hopeth all thyng^{s}, endureth ī all thyng^{s}. Though that prophesyinge fayle, other tonges shall cease, or knowledge vanysshe awaye: yet love falleth never awaye.

For oure knowledge is vnparfet, and oure prophesyīge is vnperfet: but whē thatt which is parfet is come: thē that which is vnparfet shall bedone awaye. When I was a chylde, I spake as a chylde, I vnderstode as a childe, I ymmagened as a chylde: but as sone as I was a man I put awaye all childesshnes. Nowe we se in a glasse even in a darke speakynge: but then shall we se face to face. Nowe I knowe vnparfectly: but then shall I knowe even as I am knowen. Nowe abideth fayth, hope, and love, even these thre: but the chefe of these is love.

IV. Specimen of that edition of his version of the new Testament in which Tyndale adjusted the spelling to the pronunciation of the peasantry of his native county; for whose use it was printed in 1535, when his labours were coming to their close[4].

1 CORINTHIANS XIII.

Though I spaeke with the tonges of men and aengels, and yet had no loue, I were euen as soundynge brasse, or as a tinklinge cimball. And though I coulde prophesy, and vnderstoede all secretes, and all knowledge: ye yf I had all faeyth, so that I coulde moue mountayns oute of thear places, and yet had no loue, I were nothinge. And though I bestowed all my gooddes to feade the povre, and though I gaue my body euen that I burned and yet had no loue, it

[4 See Biographical Notice, p. lxxiii., and Offor's Mem. of Tyndale, p. 81, also Anderson's Annals, Vol. I. § 12, p. 455, and Vol. II. App. p. viii. No. 14. The text has been copied from the edition in the Cambridge university library.]

propheteth me nothinge. Loue suffreth longe and is corteous. Loue enuyeth not. Loue doeth not frowardly, swelleth not, dealeth not dishonestly, seketh not her awne, is not prouoked to anger, thinketh not euyll, reioyseth not in iniquite: but reioyseth in the trueth, suffreth all thinge, beleaueth all thinges, hoepeth all thinges, endureth in all thinges. Though ye prophesyinge faele, other thonges shall cease, or knowledge vanysshe awaye, yet loue falleh newer awaye.

For oure knowledge is vnparfect and oure prophesynge is vnparfect. But when that which is parfect, is come, then that which is vnparfect, shall be done awaye. When I was a chylde, I spaeke as a chylde, I vnderstoede as a chylde, I ymagined as a chylde. But assoen as I was a man, I put awaye chyldeshnes. Now we se in a glasse, euen in a darke speakinge: but then shall we se face to face. Now I knowe vnparfectly: but then shall I knowe euen as I am knowen. Now abydeth faeyth, hoepe and loue, euen these thre: but the chefe of theese is loue.

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THE END.

THE

NINTH ANNUAL REPORT

(FOR THE YEAR 1849.)

OF

The Parker Society,

INSTITUTED A.D. 1840.

FOR THE PUBLICATION OF

THE WORKS OF THE FATHERS AND EARLY WRITERS OF THE REFORMED ENGLISH CHURCH.

PRESENTED TO THE GENERAL MEETING, MAY THE 14TH, 1850.

"He (*Archbishop Parker*) was a great collector of ancient and modern writings, and took especial care of the safe preservation of them for all succeeding times; as foreseeing, undoubtedly, what use might be made of them by posterity; that, by having recourse to such originals and precedents, the true knowledge of things might the better appear."

"As he was a great patron and promoter of good learning, so he took care of giving encouragement to printing—a great instrument of the increase thereof."

Strype's Life of Archbishop Parker.

The Council of the Parker Society have to lay before the Members the following Report of the proceedings of the past year:—

The Books for the year 1849 which have been circulated among the subscribers were four:—

1st. A second portion of the works of Tyndale, the Martyr.

2nd. A translation of Whitaker's Disputation on Holy Scripture.

3rd. A volume of Bullinger's Decades.

4th. A selection from the writings of Bishop Bale.

These four books, it is hoped, have proved acceptable to the members. Of the value of Tyndale's writings it is unnecessary again to speak. Neither can it be needful to dwell upon the importance of Bullinger's Decades, a collection of sermons which received the official sanction of the rulers of the Church of England, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and which, therefore, must deserve to be carefully consulted by every student of theology. Whitaker's learned Disputation on Holy Scripture, now first introduced to the reader in an English dress, is an admirable treatise on the authority and interpretation of the sacred word. And it was felt very desirable to reprint some of the productions of Bishop Bale. He was a writer too prominent among those of his age to be passed over in such a series as that comprehended by the Parker Society; and, though several of his works are not suitable for modern re-publication, yet his accounts of those who in the time of persecution witnessed a good confession for the truth, and his exposition of the book of Revelation, will probably interest those who desire to acquaint themselves with such an author.

For the year 1850, the following books are in preparation :—

1st. The last portion of Tyndale's works.

2nd. Another volume of Bullinger's Decades.

3rd. The concluding portion of Bishop Jewel's works. It will be a great satisfaction to the Council to have completed an edition of the writings of this eminent prelate, one of the brightest ornaments of the age in which he lived; in whose volumes may be found treasures of information on almost every theological topic; and of whom it may be truly said that, in the wide range which his pen pursued, "nihil quod tetigit non ornavit." The Council have pleasure in apprising the subscribers that they have reason to believe that their edition of Bishop Jewel will be a very complete one, and that it will comprise some letters not hitherto printed.

4th. The Apology of Private Mass, with a Reply. This exceedingly rare volume has been, though erroneously, ascribed to Jewel. It appears, however, to be a fitting appendix to the works of the learned Bishop of Salisbury, with which the Council are glad to be able to circulate it.

In their report of last year, the Council felt that the time was come for some definite statement of the period to which their labours might be expected to extend, and they announced that they hoped to complete the series of their re-publications in about four years from that date. As nothing has since occurred to alter the view they then entertained, they would now state, that in about three years more they expect to have put forth the works of Archbishop Whitgift, Archbishop Parker's Correspondence, Rogers on the Articles, the Reformatio Legum, Nowel's Catechisms, together with the remaining portions of Bradford and Bishop Hooper, and some other valuable treatises. The accomplishment of this expectation must depend on their receiving a continuance of that support from the public, which has been hitherto given so far beyond the expectations with which the Society was formed. But to this the Council believe that they may confidently look forward, as they can scarcely suppose, when the series is so near completion, that any of the members will hesitate in continuing their subscriptions a short time longer, until the close of the undertaking.

Various opinions have been expressed as to the merit of some of the volumes which have been re-published; and it has been suggested by some, that a more attractive collection of books might have been furnished to the members of the Society. But the principle on which it was founded was that of giving a large and comprehensive series of the writings of our reformers and early divines. Had the works of only a few of the more eminent authors been selected, a charge of partiality might, perhaps, have been sustained against the Council; and their reprints might have been thought the offspring rather of partizanship than of a sincere and earnest desire to exhibit the theology of the Church of England as it appeared during, perhaps, the most momentous crisis of her existence. And, as the members have frequently been reminded, it is to be considered that, though some of the volumes published may not be inviting to the general reader, they are of great value as documents; and they are all the productions of men eminent in their times, the leading persons in the church and the state and the academic seats of learning. The whole mind of that age will thus have been exhibited; and the Council know that those who are best qualified to judge are agreed in the importance of such an exhibition. They will have made accessible to the mass of the public the works of martyrs and confessors; they will have illustrated, both in doctrinal and controversial treatises, in liturgical documents, and in familiar letters, the views and proceedings of those to whom under God we owe the rescue of our church from a foreign yoke, throwing, thereby, no inconsiderable light upon the history as well as the theology of the times. To have been the instruments of accomplishing such a work as the republication of these remains will ever prove to the Council a source of real gratitude to God; and in dependence on his help they would proceed to the completion of their plan.

ABSTRACT OF THE CASH ACCOUNT OF THE PARKER SOCIETY, FOR THE YEAR 1849.

Received.	£	s.	d
Subscriptions received for 1849, and previous years	4472	8	2
Subscriptions received for future years	8	0	0
Amount received on Consols account	420	0	2
,, ,, ,, Exchequer Bill	20	17	5
Balance due to the Treasurer	287	10	4
Total	£5208	16	1

Paid.	£	s.	d
Balance due for 1848	373	11	7
Paid for Printing and Paper of the books for 1849	2519	12	11
For Binding and Delivery	959	9	3
For Editorial expenses	691	10	6
For Insurance from fire	5	12	6
Library	7	10	9
Transcripts	13	13	8
Printing Plans, Reports, and Circulars, and for Advertisements	95	17	6
Rent of Office, Salary of Secretary, and Wages of Clerks, and Porters	452	11	0
Books purchased to complete sets	23	14	0
Stationery, and Account Books	5	5	5
Incidentals, including Postage, carriage, coals, and various petty expenses	60	7	0
Total	£5208	16	1

HENRY POWNALL,
FRANCIS LOWE, } *Auditors.*

LAWS OF THE PARKER SOCIETY.

I.—That the Society shall be called THE PARKER SOCIETY, and that its objects shall be—first, the reprinting, without abridgement, alteration, or omission, of the best Works of the Fathers and Early Writers of the Reformed English Church, published in the period between the accession of King Edward VI. and the death of Queen Elizabeth: secondly, the printing of such remains of other Writers of the Sixteenth Century as may appear desirable (including, under both classes, some of the early English Translations of the Foreign Reformers); and thirdly, the printing of some manuscripts of the same Authors, hitherto unpublished.

II.—That the Society shall consist of such a number of members, being subscribers of at least One Pound each annually, as the Council may determine; the subscription to be considered due on the First day of January in each year, in advance, and to be paid on or before such a day as the Council may fix; sufficient notice being given of the day appointed.

III.—That the Management of the Society shall be vested in a President, a Treasurer, a Librarian, and a Council of twenty-four other subscribers, being members of the established Church, of whom not less than sixteen shall be Clergymen. The Council and Officers to be elected annually by the subscribers, at a General Meeting to be held in the month of May; and no persons shall then be proposed who are not already members of the Council, or Officers, unless their names shall have been transmitted to the Secretaries on or before the 15th of April in the current year, by nominations in writing, signed by at least five subscribers. And that there be three Secretaries appointed by the Council; also that the Council have power to fill all vacancies during the year.

IV.—That the accounts of the receipt and expenditure of the Society shall be examined every year, previously to the General Meeting by four Auditors, two of them selected from the Council, and two appointed by the preceeding General Meeting.

V.—That the funds shall be expended in the payment of the expense incurred in producing the works published by the Society, so that every member not in arrear of his or her annual subscription, shall receive a copy of every work published by the Society during the year, for each sum of One Pound subscribed, without any charge for the same; and that the number of copies printed in each year shall be limited to the quantity required for the number actually subscribed for.

VI.—That every member of the Society who shall intimate to the Council a desire to withdraw, or who shall not pay the subscription by the time appointed, shall cease to be a member of the Society; and no Member shall at any time incur any liability beyond the annual subscription.

VII.—That, after the commencement of the proceedings, no rule shall be made or altered excepting at a General Meeting, and after notice of the same has been communicated to the members by circulars, or by advertisement in two London daily newspapers, at least fourteen days before the General Meeting.

VIII.—Donations and Legacies will be thankfully received; the amount of which shall be expended by the Council in supplying copies of the publications to clerical, or other libraries, destitute of funds to purchase the same, and for such other purposes, connected with the objects of the Society, as the Council may determine.

THE FOLLOWING NAMES, AMONG OTHERS, ARE IN THE LIST OF SUBSCRIBERS TO

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I. They will be delivered, free of expense, at the office, or within three miles of the General Post Office, London.

II. They will be sent to any place in England beyond the distance of three miles from the General Post Office, by any conveyance a member may point out. In this case the parcels will be booked at the expense of the Society, but the carriage must be paid by the members to whom they are sent.

III. They will be delivered, free of expense, at any place in London which a member resident in the country may name.

IV. They may remain at the office of the Society until the members apply for them; but, in that case, the Society will not be responsible for any damage which may happen from fire, or other accident.

V. They will be sent to any of the Correspondents, or Agents of the Society, each member paying the Correspondent or Agent a share of the carriage of the parcel in which the books were included. Arrangements are made for the delivery on this plan, in many of the cities and large towns where a sufficient number of members reside; *and it will be esteemed a favour if gentlemen who are willing to further the objects of the Parker Society, by taking charge of the books for the members in their respective neighbourhoods, will write to the Office on the subject.*

VI. They will be delivered in Edinburgh and Dublin as in London, and forwarded from thence to members in other parts of Scotland and Ireland, in the same manner as is mentioned above with respect to England.

A List of the Works

ALREADY PUBLISHED BY THE PARKER SOCIETY.

For 1841.
- The Works of Bishop Ridley.
- The Sermons and other Pieces of Archbishop Sandys.
- The Works of Bishop Pilkington.
- The Works of Roger Hutchinson.

For 1842.
- The Examinations and Writings of Archdeacon Philpot.
- Christian Prayers and Meditations.
- Letters of Bishop Jewel, and others, translated from the Originals in the Archives of Zurich (1st Series).
- The Writings of Archbishop Grindal.
- Early Writings of the Rev. T. Becon, Chaplain to Archbishop Cranmer, and Prebendary of Canterbury.

For 1843.
- Fulke's Defence of the English Translation of the Bible.
- Early Writings of Bishop Hooper.
- Writings of Archbishop Cranmer on the Lord's Supper.
- The Catechism and other pieces of Becon.

For 1844.
- The Liturgies, Primer, and Catechism of the Reign of Edward VI.
- Writings of Bishop Coverdale.
- Sermons of Bishop Latimer.
- The Flower of Godly Prayers, and other pieces of Becon.

For 1845.
- Second Series of Letters from the Archives of Zurich.
- Remains of Bishop Latimer.
- Writings of Bishop Jewel.
- Devotional Poetry of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth.

For 1846.
- Remaining Portion of Bishop Coverdale's Writings.
- Original Letters relative to the Reformation.
- Remains of Archbishop Cranmer.
- Calfhill's Answer to Martiall's Treatise on the Cross.

For 1847.
- A further Portion of Bishop Jewel's Works, including the latter part of his Answer to Harding, his Exposition on the Epistles to the Thessalonians, and other Pieces.
- Liturgies and Occasional Services of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth.
- The concluding Portion of the Original Letters relative to the Reformation.
- Norden's Progress of Piety.

For 1848.
- A third Portion of Bishop Jewel's Works, containing his Apology and the 1st part of the Defence.
- A Volume of Bradford.
- A Volume of Tyndale.
- Fulke's Answer to Martiall and Stapleton.

For 1849.
- Whitaker's Disputation on Holy Scripture.
- Bullinger's Sermons.
- Bishop Bale's Select Writings.
- Tyndale, 2nd Portion.

The Books preparing for 1850, are:—

Tyndale, 3rd. and last Volume.
Bullinger, 2nd. Volume.
Jewel, 4th. and last Volume; and, probably,
Answer to the Apology of Private Mass.

Princeton Theological Seminary-Speer Library
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